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'Dialogue for Europe' Meeting Begins 12 Oct

AU1510155690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Oct 90 p 5

[Interview with Csaba Kiss, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Tamas N. Krausz in Gyula; date not given: "A Dialogue for Europe in Gyula"; first two paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] A three-day international conference entitled "Dialogue for Europe" begins in Gyula today. The conference is organized by the Central European Working Group and the Gyula group of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF].

The conference intends to continue the initiative of the Poland in Europe Working Group and the ZNAK staff [Krakow-based lay Catholic group loosely associated with the Polish church hierarchy] in their symposium held in Krakow and Tyniec in June 1989 entitled: "Central Europe—Illusion or Chance." The conference in Gyula is also supported by the CDU [Christian-Democratic Union of Germany]- affiliated Konrad Adenauer Fund. The participants who arrived from almost all the countries in Europe will discuss, among other things, the chances of European integration and the role of the churches, denominations, and believers in a dialogue.

[Krausz] Does the fact that national and national minority issues have again come to the forefront in Eastern-Central Europe give a sad timeliness to this conference?

[Kiss] I think that this sad timeliness has been true for some 200 years because, in this part of Europe, the idea of a modern national state simply did not comply with the reality of languages, cultures, and majorities and minorities living together here. I think, therefore, that a dialogue is the only possibility, and this requires a lot of everyday work, like this conference with the participation of intellectuals coming from various countries in Europe.

[Krausz] What are the values along which former dictatorships could join Europe together?

[Kiss] Instead of choosing between nationalism and national nihilism, we must build up a type of national awareness which includes dialogue, openness, as well as the fact that a nation can only develop its own image and place in Europe by also considering the others.

[Krausz] You are the MDF deputy chairman. Your party is in power today. What can Hungary do on a governmental level?

[Kiss] I can hardly give you any details about this because I have no government function whatsoever. I think, however, that intellectuals should cooperate in the everyday work of information and education.

Romania's Roman on Bucharest Trade Fair Opening

AU1310163690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1519 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/10/1990—In the configuration trade fairs represent a sort of fixed points of the market network, stated Premier Petre Roman on the opening of the 16th edition of the Bucharest International Trade Fair.

I have the impression, the prime minister went on, that Bucharest may become such a fixed point, let's say an important point in the international trade but such an aim can be attained only by our openness toward world market, our wish to have here many foreign partners be they industrial, financial or commercial partners. Many things seem encouraging for such an aim. Many things are just beginning. Many foreign companies seem to have come to Romania with serious intentions.

In general this is a good thing and we are convinced that, proving our openness toward international community and the world market, this way of changes, of commercial contacts and even trade operations will reach an internationally known level.

The prime minister also noted that there was a clear change in the way in which contacts took pace, "but, he added, more important is the effective operation of the market links and the liberty of the commercial agents present here. I have been asked whether bureaucracy of the links diminished. I hope it did".

Black Sea Ecology Conference Concludes

AU1310194990 Sofia BTA in English 1821 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Varna, 13 Oct (BTA)—The World Movement Ecoforum for Peace held an international conference on the environmental condition of the Black Sea on board the Soviet research ship "Akademik Vernadskiy." Taking part were about 120 scientists, experts and representatives of various research centres and government institutions of the USSR, Italy, Austria, the United States, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Germany, France, Britain and Turkey.

Today the ship arrived in Varna from Istanbul where some 20 researchers from the Universities of Istanbul and the Bosporus and from the technical university joined the discussion. They were willing to cooperate in the solution of the ecological problems of the Black Sea. Agreement was reached on the key points and above all on the main purpose of the conference: to work out a single coordinated research framework for an intergovernmental convention on the protection of the Black Sea.

At the end of the conference, the participants adopted and signed a resolution which recommended the establishment of an international centre for Black Sea studies and the creation of an international foundation to finance research work on Black Sea environment problems, to set up, within the World Movement Ecoforum for Peace, a standing committee which should pool the efforts of scientists and the public for mitigation of the present ecological condition of the Black Sea and the adjoining areas.

Assembly Debates Amendments, End to Media Control

AU1710191390 Sofia BTA in English 1808 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Oct (BTA)—Today the members of parliament discussed a bill amending the now operative Constitution. According to the agenda they should have been debating the programme of the new cabinet, but it turned out that not all parliamentary groups and standing committees are ready with their assessment of the "Lukanov programme."

The M.P.'s approved at first reading an amendment to the present Bulgarian Constitution, according to which the one-month-long time limit for including motions for the amendment of the Constitution is deleted. Now the fixed time limit will be two weeks.

The M.P.'s adopted a decision that within two weeks a committee will present for approval the elements of the new state coat of arms. The elements on Bulgaria's present coat of arms are a pentacle, the year 1944, wheat-ears and a cog wheel—symbols of "the sci-technical progress" of Bulgaria in the years of socialism. The Legislation Committee considers that some of these symbols reflected the views of part of the Bulgarian people only and that they have not had a uniting character.

A bill according to which the radio and television are released from the monopoly of the state was debated for the first time at a plenary session today. It was supported by 100 national representatives. Although the bill has not been put to the vote yet, there are more than 20 applications for opening private radio and television stations. Mr. Filip Bokov, a Socialist M.P. and former chairman of the Bulgarian Television, who used to blame his former subordinates for being biased, considers the idea of removing the monopoly on radio and television exceptionally felicitous. This is the only way to encourage competition and stimulate the appearance of interesting broadcasts, he said.

The co-chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Radio and Television, Mr. Boyan Papazov of the Union of Democratic Forces, warned that the elimination of the present monopoly on these two institutions may result in unleashing private capital and commercializing these channels.

The M.P.'s decided on not adopting this amendment to the Constitution until the law on television and radio enters into force.

Progress in Forming Provisional Councils Noted

AU1710202290 Sofia BTA in English 1900 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Oct (BTA)—For the first time in 45 years, the capital of Bulgaria has a non-communist mayor. Besides he is the youngest mayor in the history of Sofia: 30-year-old philosopher Aleksandur Karakachanov. Mr. Karakachanov chairs the Green Party in Bulgaria and is a national representative at the Grand National Assembly.

Today Socialist Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov approved the new leadership of the city which was appointed after long consultations of the major political forces. The new interim executive committee which will administer the city until the elections for local authorities is made up of five people of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces, four of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and two of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

The elections were to be held before the end of this year, but obviously the political forces represented at parliament will be in no hurry to work out the election law. It will be done after the parliament approves the new administrative division of the country.

In Sofia the opposition won the elections in June with a great majority, although it lost them in the country as a whole.

Today it became known that an agreement was reached as to the leaderships of all municipalities in the territory of Sofia. Not all mayors are appointed depending on the results of the elections but, as it has been announced to the BTA by the Council of Ministers, "this is an expression of the desire for a constructive dialogue."

In almost 150 municipalities in the country the interim leaderships have been formed depending on the results of the parliamentary elections after consultations among the political forces. But in another 100 municipalities no agreement was reached and a contact group was set up with the government to tackle the problem. For 80 of them no agreement has been reached yet. The interim leaderships are appointed by the prime minister.

In the meantime in some cities and towns the interim authorities have been already operating. The first decisions adopted by the City Council of Varna (headed by a representative of the opposition) became known today: the building of the regional committee of the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party is given up to the local council with the consent of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Opposition's Approach to Government Program Viewed

AU1810090090 Sofia BTA in English 2202 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Oct (BTA)—The debates on the program of the new cabinet will open tomorrow and, as it was proposed by an opposition M.P. will be directly broadcast on television.

According to information received in the parliamentary lobbies, there have been differences of opinion among the opposition as to whether to support unreservedly the program which it considers to be a radical one, because there are certain doubts that "the conservative Socialist government may fail to carry it out". According to a source who preferred to remain anonymous, the Union of Democratic Forces will try to bind the approval of the program to some political conditions.

Today the M.P.'s were familiarized with the position of the standing parliamentary committees. The committees approve the government program as a whole, but consider the insufficient concretization to be its basic shortcoming.

The Committee for Economic Policy insists on the National Bank's presenting a concrete program for an anti-inflationary policy.

According to the Committee for Social Problems the government should clearly determine the priorities in the social sphere.

In the opinion of the Committee for Agrarian Policy and Reforms in Agriculture it is not made clear in the program under what form and by what means the government will prioritize agriculture. "Privatization taken alone cannot solve the problems piled up in this field; concrete measures and subsidies are needed to revive the Bulgarian village," the chairman of the committee said.

The Legislative Committee blamed Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov for not having yet nominated the minister of justice.

The Committee for Science and Education demanded that at least 10 percent of the budget should be allotted to ensure the financing of education in 1991; it also insists on raising teachers' salaries and granting them the right to retire on pensions at an earlier age.

The Committee for Environmental Protection considers that three percent of the budget should go into ecological projects.

Lukanov Consults Unions, Businessmen on Program

AU1710202790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov held a consultative meeting today with representatives of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, the National Union of Economic Leaders, the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and private businessmen.

The participants put forward their assessments and views on the government's program. A number of specific proposals were also made on amending and supplementing the program. In the course of the discussion, it was stressed that such consultations contribute to refining the government's program. From a position of high responsibility, the parties expressed doubts whether, in its main principles, the proposed program provides a basis for further democratizing society and speeding up the transition to a market economy.

Andrey Lukanov assured the participants in the meeting that the proposals and recommendations put forward at the meeting would be utilized to supplement the program.

Preparations Begin for Privatizing Transportation

AU1710201990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] The leadership of the Ministry of Transport will not sit around waiting for legislation on privatization, Transport Minister Atanas Popov declared to journalists in Sofia today, while considering issues relating to the market reform in the sector.

The leadership of the ministry is starting preliminary preparations in connection with valuing property and choosing the forms of denationalization: private capital, shares, and holding companies, and the permitted level of share participation by foreign capital. The ministry has defined its position regarding road transportation, where the privatization processes will be speeded up. The same is true for the demonopolization and liberalization of transportation prices and fares, in which a number of draft projects are under consideration.

Before 30 October, a project for tariffs and prices for freight transportation by road, air, and sea and for shipping activities will be submitted to the Council of Ministers for discussion. The project also covers railway transportation and technical services. According to the minister, these prices are expected to rise by between 50 and 100 percent.

New interstate agreements for transport services connected with Bulgarian imports and exports will be concluded within a very short time, mainly with the Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union.

A chamber of transportation and transport services is to be set up to help resolve these important questions.

Draft Unemployment Protection Law Proposed

AU1810113790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 15 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Margit Terziradeva report: "A Law on Employment and on Protection of the Unemployed Is Under Preparation"]

[Text] A working group appointed by the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare has already proposed a draft law on employment and on the protection of the unemployed, which had been submitted to it for discussion. After completing the document with addenda coordinated in consultations with the other social partners and the government, the authors of the draft law on employment and on the protection of the unemployed are planning to submit it to the Grand National Assembly by the end of November.

According to data provided by the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, a total of 40,727 workers are registered as unemployed with the employment agency.

The data indicate that 6,946 of them have university degrees. At the same time, 42,215 available jobs have been announced and have been offered by the companies. Unemployment benefit payments amount to a total of 7,740,000 leva. Such benefits are currently paid to 11,092 individuals.

The number of registered unemployed workers is expected to increase considerably during the October-November period of 1990 because the summer provided opportunities to find temporary, seasonal employment for numerous people who were left without permanent jobs. The incipient winter season will certainly force them to register with the employment agencies to find a more durable solution to the problems. On the other hand, the practical implementation of the economic reform is expected to drastically increase the number of people who will be forced to look for new employment in a different professional sphere. The reduction of budget expenditures will undoubtedly reflect upon payrolls in enterprises and institutions which are subsidized by the state budget. Hence, according to forecasts of the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, approximately 75,000 to 80,000 workers and employees will be dismissed from their current jobs.

Despite the fact that the number of unemployed workers has already reached several tens of thousands and although the same number of jobs are available, only 690 individuals have so far enrolled in retraining courses.

Goran Gotev, deputy minister of employment and social welfare, is also engaged in the preparation of the new draft law on employment and on protection for the unemployed. He made the following statement on the subject:

It is our specific goal to establish normative prerequisites for broad social involvement in unemployment problems. We could convince ourselves that positive results can be achieved only on the basis of a consensus between employers, trade union organizations, and the state. For this reason we propose that the draft law should contain a proposal on establishing national and regional employment councils in which all three social partners—namely the state, the employers, and the trade unions—should be represented. It is envisaged that, as early as in the process of preparing the programs on nationwide and regional economic development, the councils should conduct joint consultations on coordinating their mutual interests and that they should reach a consensus on a common policy which should be implemented through joint efforts.

The second task which we have assigned ourselves is to achieve effective employment and to adopt preventive measures against unemployment. For this purpose we should pursue an energetic policy of encouraging employers to expand all opportunities for work. We would like to specify the mechanisms through which this could be achieved. It is our intention that the specialized "Unemployment" Fund, which will be financed by contributions from the employers, from the workers, and the state, should not only be used as a source of benefits for those who are already unemployed, but that, under specific, favorable conditions, the fund should also provide credits for opening new jobs.

The third task which we have assumed is to optimally improve financial benefits for the unemployed. For the time being, such benefits neither stimulate the unemployed to seek a timely return to regular employment, nor do they encourage them to improve their professional qualifications by enrolling in retraining programs. We should evidently emphasize the two major objectives of this system: On the one hand, the benefits should guarantee a normal existence for the unemployed. On the other hand, people should be encouraged as soon as possible to seek new, regular employment. All these factors are closely connected with the requirement of determining the precise amounts of unemployment benefits, the deadlines, and conditions under which unemployed workers are entitled to them.

It is envisaged that we will improve the structure of state institutions which are directly concerned with the process of unemployment by establishing regional centers capable of influencing the development of the regional labor market, analyzing its trends, and providing preliminary information on current needs.

The new draft law should also contribute to the protection of our domestic labor market from external influences.

Kozloduy Staff Warn of Possible Nuclear Risk

AU1610151490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] An open letter addressed to the president of the Republic, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Grand National Assembly has been signed by 18 Bulgarian control room operators at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. The subject of the letter concerns the startup of the No. 6 power generating unit.

It is extremely likely that the hopes that the No. 6 1,000-megawatt unit will be brought into operation earlier are not justified, because there is no one to carry out the work. The matter is connected with the shortage of senior operating staff, a problem which has already been brought to the government's attention several times.

The normal, safe operation of the No. 5 and No. 6 units requires 50 operators, but at present there are only 18, a number which is sufficient only for operating one unit. Moreover, these staff are overworked and too fatigued, and have not made use of 1,184 days of their leave.

By a decision of the government, the Nuclear Energy Industry Trust hired 18 operators for two years from nuclear power plants in the Soviet Union. But the fact remains that a large proportion of the Soviet staff are dissatisfied with the living conditions in Kozloduy, and they need two to three months to familiarize themselves with the specific features of the power generating unit. Apart from this, up to 1 January Bulgaria will pay an average of 3,543 transferable rubles per operator, and after this date the payments will be made in foreign currency.

Are all the possibilities exhausted for training and appointing Bulgarian operators and for sending home the Soviet staff working at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant? asks the letter.

The 18 operators are categorical in declaring that whereas the commissioning operations so far have been carried without nuclear fuel in the reactor and only with the help of expensive equipment, the state of affairs will change after the core has been charged with fuel. Sooner or later, a nuclear risk will ensue. Under these conditions, the startup of the No. 6 unit will constitute a crime. We are duty bound to declare this, and we do not want a second Chernobyl, the letter states.

Concentration Camp Leaders' Case May Be Dropped

AU1710210090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Oct 90 p 2

[Evgeni Gvrilov report: "Spasov, Gazdov, and Goranov—Behind the Curtain of Prescription"]

[Text] According to reliable sources from the Military Prosecutor's Office, the possibility exists that the case against Mircho Spasov, Gazdov, and Goranov may be dropped. This assumption is based on the fact that crimes committed by the aforementioned individuals in the camps near Lovech and Skravena might be declared as invalid on the basis of the statute of limitations.

As it recently became known, the military collegium of the Supreme Court accepted the petition of the defense counsel on amending the order of "taking into custody" to "house arrest." Following this, the defense raised the question of the statute of limitations for crimes committed in the camps, but the court has not yet issued a pronouncement on the matter.

According to the specialists and in conformity with documents of the Vienna conference, which our country has signed, the law which was in force at the time of the crime should be applied. The situation of the defendant should not be aggravated by a law which is retroactive. Article 2 of our Penal Code, which stipulates that of all new laws passed within the period preceding the verdict of the court, the most advantageous law for the criminal should be applied, is conceived in the same spirit.

Our legislation, prior to its most recent amendment, limited the statute of limitations to 20 years, which was later extended to 35 years. The new amendment to the Penal Code does not indicate anywhere that the law should be retroactive. In that case, the crimes committed in the camps of Lovech and Skravena should be considered as subject to the statute of limitations. The restoration of the statute of limitations would really be to the detriment of the accused.

The reasons why the last National Asembly amended Article 80, paragaph 1, item 1 of the Penal Code related to prescription should allegedely be attributed to the facts disclosed on the crimes committed in Lovech and Skravena. The law does not indicate that it should be retroactive in the aforementioned cases.

Investigation of Zhivkov's Son-in-Law Stopped

AU1710182390 Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Oct (BTA)—Today the Central Investigating Department made an announcement about the legal action taken against Ivan Borisov Slavkov (Todor Zhivkov's son-in-law), who had been accused of possessing illegally firearms and of embezzlement of public property amounting to 14,410 leva. The investigation has been discontinued, because there are no legal grounds for bringing Mr. Slavkov to court. The measure "remanded on 1000-leva bail" has been revoked.

Zhelev Approves of Renaming Karl Marx Institute

AU1710103590 Sofia BTA in English 0828 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, October 17 (BTA)—The Higher Institute of Economics in Sofia, until recently named after Karl Marx, has been transformed into a University for National and World Economics, announces the Academic Board of the higher educational establishment in "DUMA." The board has notified the president, the prime minister and parliament about its decision. In a reply, the President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev expressed support for the decision of the management of the university which has exercised its legitimate right to collegiate autonomy.

Bible School Classes, University Fees Introduced

AU1710103890 Sofia BTA in English 1010 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, October 17 (BTA)—The St. Patriarch Euthymius School in Sofia is offering an optional course in religious instruction. For the first time in decades, Bulgarian children will be able to attend bible classes. Eighty pupils have enrolled in this course, "DUMA" reports.

As from this academic year, the St. Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia introduces tuition fees. One hundred undergraduates will be able to study law at the university against the (still) hefty sum of 3,000 leva a year.

Three Bulgarian kids will attend free the Anglo-American School in Sofia. Lots were drawn to pick the three out of 10,000 applicants. The school, which enrolls children of foreign diplomats accredited to Sofia, charges an annual tuition fee of 6,000 U.S. dollars, "DUMA" writes. The paper covers the draw ceremony which was attended by Mr. Matey Mateev, minister of national education, and by Ambassadors Richard Thomas of Britain and Hugh Kenneth Hill of the United States.

Foreign Trade Minister Discusses Exports, Imports

AU1710202690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Our Foodstuff Imports Exceed Our Exports"]

[Text] Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations, declared the following in an interview with Bulgarian Television last night: As of September 1990 Bulgarian foodstuff imports exceed our exports by $50 million. For comparison he pointed out that Bulgaria had imported foodstuffs and agricultural goods worth $250 million in 1989. In 1980, however, our foodstuff exports were worth $300 million more than our imports.

On the subject of our trade relations with Cuba, Minister Paparizov explained that our country has exported only one-third of the foodstuffs envisaged by the trade agreement for the period up to the end of 1990. In the meantime Cuba has fulfilled two-thirds of its obligations to our country. Expressed in figures our foodstuff exports for Cuba are worth 23 million rubles [R], while the Cuban exports are worth R55 million. This situation might jeopardize our sugar imports.

The "dairy industry" is so far exporting less than it imports in convertible currency. As a result of such transactions, those with the socialist countries included, a net result worth 20,000 tons of milk in foreign currency, or 2,000 tons of yellow cheese and 3,000 tons of white cheese, are obtained.

The question of whether Bulgaria is trying to pay its foreign debt by exporting foodstuffs against convertible currency was recently raised. It was also mentioned that Bulgaria, perhaps for noneconomic reasons, is exporting foodstuffs to Eastern European and other countries with which our trade relations are based on transferable rubles, the minister further explained.

Position at Forthcoming Tirana Meeting Clarified

AU1710170390 Sofia BTA in English 1605 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Oct (BTA)—At the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries in Tirana, Bulgaria will back up all constructive ideas and proposals, a representative of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced today.

At the regular briefing held with the ministry it was pointed out that Bulgaria considers the all-Balkan cooperation to be an integral part of the all-European process. Europe does not want the problems of our region, it wants its interaction, Mr. Minko Sladkarov, head of the Balkan Countries Department with the ministry stated.

The main point in the position Bulgaria is going to state in Tirana will be her national security. The necessity of preparing documents in which the principles of good neighborly cooperation and of strengthening confidence and security are laid down will be pointed out. The problems of economic cooperation are also of great importance for this country—a field in which, according to the Bulgarian side, there have not been any significant results so far. The efforts for the working out of a convention on ecological cooperation in the Balkans at the initiative of Bulgaria will be continued, too.

EC Commission Set To Grant Customs Preferences

AU1710220090 Sofia BTA in English 1756 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Brussels, 17 Oct (BTA)—The Commission of the European Community decided to propose to the Council of Ministers of the EC to include Bulgaria in the system of customs preferences next year. The same refers to Czechoslovakia, too.

The argument put forward in the decision is that these two countries are covered by the Phare Programme, which also includes Poland and Hungary. One of the main goals of the programme is to help along the modernization of the national economies of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe by stimulating their exports.

It is considered that by improving the access of the products of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia to the EC Market their export receipts will be increased and their industrialization accelerated, which will contribute to the restructuring of their economies. To achieve this end the Commission of the EC deems it appropriate to extend the benefits of customs preferences to these countries (Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia—BTA) in the sphere of industrial, textile and agricultural production under the same terms which are valid for Poland and Hungary, it is said in the decision.

No Reason Given for Firing of Defense Minister

LD1710152390 Prague CTK in English 1359 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 17 (CTK)—In its official report issued today the Presidential Office gave no reason for the recalling of Miroslav Vacek from the function of defence minister. Adviser to Czechoslovak President Jiri Krizan who is in charge of the Army and security said at a rally of Czechoslovak Army commanders on Monday that both they and the defence minister "enjoy confidence and support of the president."

After the June parliamentary elections when the new Czechoslovak Government was created, some influential functionaries of the strongest political power, the Civic Forum, appealed to President Havel not to appoint Miroslav Vacek the country's defence minister. Under the former regime General Vacek was first deputy defence minister and chief of staff. From March 1986 he was alternate member of the then Communist Party Central Committee.

A group of former student leaders, who launched a rebellion against the former regime by their strike in November 1989, have recently called for the resignation of Defence Minister Vacek and Federal Premier Marian Calfa, describing them as belonging to the "old structures."

Army General Miroslav Vacek (promoted to the supreme rank by President Havel several weeks ago) was born in 1935. He studied at the military academy of the General Staff of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces in 1974-76. Vacek was appointed defence minister in the so-called national understanding government on December 3, 1989.

The criticism of General Vacek has resulted in a bill on the creation of a function of general inspector of Czechoslovak Armed Forces to enable the Federal Assembly (parliament) to control the state and activities of the Armed Forces and the realization of the state's defence policy.

Spokesman on Recall of Vacek

LD1710164190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Zbynek Fiala, the federal government's press spokesman, has replied to a question from CTK about the recall of Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek from his post. He said that he had learned at lunchtime that Defense Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek had been recalled, and that, as he had been told by Prime Minister Marian Calfa, President Vaclav Haval had commended the loyalty with which Gen. Vacek had carried out all the orders of the supreme commander and all the government decisions.

In considering the question of a replacement for the head of that ministry, the president was guided by the intention to have this post filled by a civilian. At the same time he took into account some of the results of the work of the president's commission set up to investigate the army's activities in November last year. The president told the prime minister of his decision shortly before it was made public.

Vacek Appeals for Army's Acceptance

LD1710195590 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Statement by Army General Miroslav Vacek, former CSFR defense minister, on 17 October; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Good evening! Esteemed television viewers, esteemed friends! For nearly 11 months as minister of defense of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, I have had opportunity to be in charge of a ministry which—even though to many of you it did not seem like it—is one of the most difficult ones in every government. As you have been informed by mass media, I was recalled from the post by the president of the Republic today. I would like to tell you that for the entire period President Vaclav Havel has been giving great support to the Army and its command, which I appreciate very much indeed. I have a feeling that the objections which some people have toward my person do not contribute to calm and the atmosphere necessary for implementing very complex changes, above all in the economic sphere. I fully endorse the opinion that it is appropriate for me to leave the post.

If you, esteemed citizens, give me the opportunity to voice only one wish, then I ask you, if this is possible for you, to change gradually your attitude toward our Army, and if you cannot love it, then at least for the beginning, cast off the hostility. I thank all members of the Czechoslovak Army for the support they have given me in my post and I appeal to them to continue to fulfill their tasks responsibly, to preserve good military organization and discipline, and comply with the orders of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces—the president of the Republic. Thank you.

First Free Local Elections Scheduled 23-24 Nov

LD1710201290 Prague CTK in English 1224 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 17 (CTK)—The first free local elections in Czechoslovakia in more than 50 years will take place in the Czech Republic on November 24 and in the Slovak Republic on November 23-24, 1990.

On June 8-9, the first free parliamentary elections were held in Czechoslovakia after 41 years of the communist power monopoly (1948-1989). The coalition of the civic movements—"Civic Forum" (Czech) and "Public Against Violence" (Slovak)—was the winner. The Civic

Forum won 118 seats and the Public against Violence 52 seats in the 300-member Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (federal parliament). Out of a total of 200 mandates in the Czech National Council (Czech parliament) the Civic Forum gained 127, and the Public Against Violence 48 mandates out of a total of 150 seats in the Slovak National Council (Slovak parliament).

The local elections will take place a year earlier, just as the June parliamentary elections. For the first time since 1960, however, the local elections will not be held simultaneously with the parliamentary. In the past 30 years deputies to Czechoslovak representative bodies were elected in the so-called general elections for a perod of five years. This practice was in line with the Constitution approved in 1960.

The local elections will be based on new election laws which were passed by the Czech parliament last September (for the Czech Republic) and by the Slovak parliament last August (for the Slovak Republic).

The last free local elections were held in Czechoslovakia in 1938. None were held on Czechoslovak territory in the period of 1939-1945 when Bohemia and Moravia were occupied by Nazi Germany and incorporated in the Third Reich as the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia." Slovakia was then an independent fascist state. Only in 1946 the representation of political parties in local administrative bodies was automatically derived from results of the democratic parliamentary elections.

Nine-Month Economic Report Shows Decline

AU1710162890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Oct 90 p 2

["vl"-signed report: "Decline, but in Expected Limits"]

[Text] September and, in fact, the entire third quarter, did not see the economy stepping out of line. According to preliminary information provided by the Federal Statistical Office, the moderate decline in industrial production (compared to the previous year's level) continued and civil engineering production dropped more considerably.

Compared to the period from January to September last year, gross industrial production (in the first reports there are no other data available) was 3.7 percent lower, while average daily output declined by only 2.3 percent (due to the different number of working days last year and this year). During the same period the number of workers dropped by 2.6 percent and labor productivity per worker dropped by 1.1 percent.

We must note, regarding these rough data, that the overall decline in industrial production is accounted for by a few branches—particularly coal mining which was 8.7 percent lower in the first three quarters of the year and the production of heat and power which was by 18.2 lower (yet, consumer demand was met). The production decline also affected general and heavy machinery industry where the cuts in arms production made themselves felt. However, as far as gross production is concerned, the decline in the entire industrial branch does not appear to be that dramatic: heavy machinery -6.6 percent, general machinery -2.0 percent, and electrical engineering -4.0 percent (for the three quarters of this year as compared to the same period of last year). The crude oil situation had a more painful impact on our chemical industry: the drop in the entire industrial branch represents -8.2 percent since the beginning of this year.

On the other hand, the production of glass, ceramics, and china; production in the wood processing industry; paper production; the printing industry; and production of medical supplies increased somewhat. The production of consumer goods in the first nine months was only 0.9 percent under last year's level.

Unfortunately, preliminary data from the Federal Statistical Office do not allow an insight into the most important aspects of the economy, that is, to what degree industrial production follows old deeply ingrained stereotypes and to what degree it meets current demand—market demand in particular. This will hopefully appear in a more detailed report for the third quarter which should be available at the beginning of November.

The significant drop in railway freight transportation (10.0 percent since the beginning of the year)—which significantly exceeds the drop in gross output (-3.7 percent)—could suggest that the production process has become more economical.

Compared to last year's figures, the volume of civil engineering carried out by own workers of the civil engineering enterprises was lower by 8.6 percent since the beginning of this year, the number of workers was 5.6 percent lower, and labor productivity was 3.2 percent lower.

In contrast to previous months, procurement of slaughter animals in September was lower (by 8.0 percent, that is, by 11.4 tonnes) and the procurement of milk was lower as well (-5.0 percent).

The retail trade turnover of main retailing systems reached 216.7 billion korunas in nine months, which represents an increase of 6.9 percent over the same period of last year. This increase has, however, been strongly influenced by the development of prices.

Klaus on Civic Forum Unity, Relations With Havel

AU1710153090 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Oct 90 p 1

[Interview with Vaclav Klaus, CSFR minister of finance, by "la"-signed ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY correspondent, in Prague on 13 October, "immediately" after the election of Vaclav Klaus as Civic Forum chairman: "Search for Unity"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY] What is your opinion on the existence of diverse currents of opinion within the Civic Forum?

[Klaus] In the past the Civic Forum was an entity which associated all opinion groups. Now these opinions should be expressed in a better way than in the past. Some of these opinions can be harmonized under the Civic Forum umbrella. Yet it might turn out that some of them cannot be harmonized. I believe, however, that the search for harmonization prevails.

[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY] Should your election as Civic Forum chairman not strengthen your position in the government and improve your relations with the [seat of the president at Prague] Castle?

[Klaus] I do not know what your idea of these relations is. They are definitely better that you think. Neither am I aware of any great conflicts within the government. There certainly are not any within the Federal Government. The Friday [12 October] decision to devalue the koruna, for example, was approved unequivocally by all economic ministers. [passage omitted]

Klaus Denies Havel-Civic Forum 'Rift'

LD1710180990 Prague CTK in English 1647 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 17 (CTK)—Presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky and Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus made it clear today that a NEW YORK TIMES report that the latter's election chairman of the Civic Forum (OF) movement at the weekend proved a rift between President Vaclav Havel and part of the Civic Forum was a conjecture.

"In my opinion it is pure speculation and I do not know what it is based on," Klaus told CTK after a "working lunch" with the president in a Prague restaurant today.

Klaus said he did not know what led the author of the article, Henry Kamm, whom he regards as a leading expert on Eastern Europe, to reach the conclusion that Klaus' election was the real first serious political defeat of President Havel and that it testified to a rift between the president and the prevailing tendency within the Civic Forum.

Asked if his views on the future of the Civic Forum differed from those of President Havel, Klaus replied he believed they did not. He said many things, naturally also the future of the Civic Forum, were discussed during the lunch.

Also Zantovsky regretted that Mr. Kamm did not ask him about the president's idea of the Civic Forum and its new chairman before writing his article.

Asked by CTK about the reasons for the recall of General Miroslav Vacek from the post of Defence Minister Zantovsky did not give an explanation but said that Vacek would appear on Czechoslovak television tonight. The office of the president would give a press conference tomorrow on the findings of a presidential commission which investigated activities of the Army in November 1989. The existence of evidence that the Army had orders to take action against the people during public protests at that time has been claimed by several individuals and groups. Vacek was deputy minister and chief of staff at that time.

Asked about his comments on Vacek's recall Klaus said he had just learned about it.

East Bohemian TV Station Opens 17 Oct

LD1710194490 Prague CTK in English 1301 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 17 (CTK)—The first regional TV corporation in Czechoslovakia, the East Bohemian Intes TV Studio, starts today on the Third TV program OK 3 its broadcasts presenting news, political journalism, entertainment and advertisements. The studio will broadcast one hour a week.

The broadcasts are sponsored by the Intes joint-stock company (the management of Prague radio-telecommunications, telecommunications, the commercial bank, Czechoslovak Radio and several East Bohemian enterprises).

Petr Has, a company official said in today's MLADA FRONTA DNES daily that the company aims not only at sponsoring regional broadcasts but also at establishing a cable TV network in East Bohemia. It also intends to extend radio broadcast and provide information and data service. It is estimated that the first 1,000 subscribers will be connected with the TV by the end of the year. The Intes company cooperates with the Dutch Intercable firm.

A total of 1,000 crowns (1 U.S. dollar is 24 crowns) should be paid by each subscriber for the line's installation and one crown a day for its operation (more than 1 U.S. dollar monthly). Subscribers will be offered 23-35 TV programs, 10 radio broadcasts and the corporation's own regional programs.

The third Czechoslovak international TV program OK 3 started to broadcast last May. It presents news, sports, cultural and educational programs by e.g. the British "Screen-Sport", French "La Sept" and U.S. "CNN" companies 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

Bohunice Nuclear Power Plant Poses No Danger

AU1710151390 Prague CTK in English 1849 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 12 (CTK)—None of the defects registered during analyses conducted at the Jaslovske Bohunice Nuclear Power Plant in West Slovakia by the Assessment of Safety Significant Events Team (ASSET) were characterized as an accident that could threaten the plant's neighborhood.

The ten-member ASSET mission, one of the forms of aid given by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to its member states, has just finished one of the seven expertises, conducted at Czechoslovakia's request.

At a press conference today, Maurice Rosen of the Vienna-based IAEA who headed the expertise stated that 183 of the total of 1,523 defects registered during the mission's activities were related to safety, while over 50 per cent of them can be ranked in spheres such as radiation protection and minor leaks of primary coolant from technological systems.

The ASSET mission recommended the drawing up of a comprehensive defects and accidents prevention program for both units of the V-1 power plant and installing more modern fire-extinguishing equipment.

Slovak Aluminum Manufacturers Strike 16 Oct

AU1710193590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Oct 90 p 3

[CTK report: "They Will Stop Aluminum Deliveries"]

[Text] Ziar nad Hronom—Ziar aluminum manufacturers went on strike today. At yesterday's meeting of the strike committee in the Slovak National Uprising Works, where a strike alert was announced as early as on 9 October, it was decided to take this step. Engineer Jaroslav Toth, spokesman of the strike committee, spoke about their reasons: "We did not receive the necessary guarantees at Friday's meeting at the CSFR Ministry of Finance and, as a result, the Agrobanka went back on its promise of 500 million korunas which were needed for the investment action Modernization of Aluminum Production. Therefore, we have decided to go on strike as of 16 October in the form of stopping deliveries to our customers, while the workers will take care of continuing smooth operations. As of tomorrow, however, we will cease to supply aluminum and aluminum products to 18 domestic customers.

Slovak Unemployment Forecasts Cause for Concern

AU1810091790

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 16 October on page 12 carries a 400-word interview with Miroslav Knitl, researcher at the Research Institute of Social Development and Labor, by a "ca"-signed NARODNA OBRODA correspondent entitled "Employment." The place and date of the interview are not given. In his only question, the interviewer asks Knitl to comment on the trend in Slovak unemployment figures (according to the referent HOSPODARSKE NOVINY report, the Slovak unemployment figure increased to 25,707 by the end of September, which means that it doubled in the course of a single month). Knitl replies that the trend of a "rapid growth" of unemployment is expected to continue. According to the "optimistic forecast" of the development of unemployment, Slovak unemployment will reach a level of between 130,000 and 150,000 persons within two years (five to six percent of the labor force) and should then stay at this level. According to the "pessimistic forecast," however, it could increase to 400,000 persons, which represents an unemployment rate of about 15 percent.

Knitl also expresses skepticism about Slovak officials' declarations about an "active employment policy." He points out that—in contrast to the Czech Republic—labor exchanges have not yet even been established in Slovakia, let alone started to operate. He also stresses that the problem of financing retraining programs has not yet been resolved because the employment fund, from which these programs will be financed, will be established only after the tax reform of 1993. He therefore fears that "in practice, employment policy will be more passive than active."

Slovak Attitude Toward Federation Lambasted

AU1810090190 Prague LIDOVE DEMOKRACIE in Czech 13 Oct 90 p 3

["(VM)"-signed commentary: "A Single Foreign Policy"]

[Text] The scandal that flared up in connection with the Slovak representatives' boycott of the dinner held in honor of the Brazilian president has once again urgently reminded us of the problem surrounding the CSFR's future foreign policy. This dinner was not just a domestic state problem or even just an argument between Messrs. Meciar and Zantovsky, it was an international predicament. The results of the visit by the leader of one of the world's largest states were considerably undermined by the subsequent press polemics.

As Petr Liska correctly stated in his commentary "Modern Peasant Swaggerers" published in LIDOVE NOVINY on 6 October, if other federal states behaved the same way as the CSFR, there would be no international relations. It is impossible to force each guest to visit Bratislava. This caused difficulties for the British Prime Minister and the French president who—against his will—had to visit the Slovak National Council headquarters, although only the president is a partner on his level. Everyone else has to come to him. This has long been the rule in France.

Moreover, as Mrs. Thatcher stated in an interview given in Bratislava, she had heard suggestions alluding to the opportunities for British entrepreneurs investing in Slovakia. Not in the CSFR, but in Slovakia. Talks were to have been held with the Brazilian president about Slovakia. Let us imagine that the Czech premier had also negotiated with them in the same way about investing in the Czech lands. What would the federal minister of foreign affairs negotiate about?

Let us also remind ourselves of the Slovak Ministry for International Relations, which promised to change its name. So far, this has not happened and it probably will not happen. What on earth is this ministry doing when, to date, Minister Knazko has not yet publicly outlined his mission? A demand has also been expressed for the 50 percent representation of Slovaks in the Foreign Ministry's diplomatic staff, perhaps in the entire diplomatic service. This is, of course, possible, but only to the detriment of Czechs.

The Czech Republic's reaction seems logical. It is to establish a government committee for foreign relations. Now we have a total of three constitutions, three parliaments, three governments, three foreign ministries, three everything plus their coordinating organs. Poor tax payers!

It seems as if the so-called authentic federation should actually be something other than a federation. After all, a federation is only one entity in international law which undertakes international obligations and is responsible for law making. A federation has one foreign minister, one capital city, and a single foreign policy. It cannot have more. It can, for instance, have cantons as in Switzerland or states as in the United States, different taxes or transport regulations, and some different laws. However, it cannot have three foreign ministries and three foreign policies. President Havel urgently recalled this in his speech to parliament on 17 September when he said: "Our state, from the point of view of international law, has a single and—in essence—indivisible political nature."

The policy of Czech Republic representatives—that is, representatives of the government or its premier, since the Czech National Council's position is nebulous—which depends upon their understanding of Slovak "romanticism" has not, unfortunately, been clearly defined. It could be defined negatively at least—by the determination of a limit beyond which it is impossible to retreat when attempting to preserve the state's unity. Obviously, the president defined this limit in his abovementioned speech to parliament when he said: "Apart from the state's defense, security, foreign policy, currency, and border protection, a significant part of the legislature, the clarification of citizens' rights and obligations, and strategic decision making in politics, economics, ecology, and energy policy should also be considered federal tasks." This is particularly applicable to foreign policy.

Meanwhile, manifestations of nationalism in Slovakia are increasing; however, not only on the part of the Slovak National Party, they can also be seen in the Slovak National Council, the government, and in the Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation]. Nationalism last manifested itself under the Matica's militant auspices at an assembly involving thousands of people in Bratislava on 5 October.

LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE has already convincingly aired a suggestion to hold a referendum to ascertain the wishes of both republics' inhabitants for the shape of their coexistence in the future. In light of recent events in Slovakia, this suggestion is even more topical. A referendum would either discard minority viewpoints and rid us of the extremists—separatists would have to be placed beyond the law—or would rid us of the traumas weakening the state's international position if the majority of citizens in one republic wanted independence. The claim that there is only one place for Czechoslovakia in Europe is false. International policy is used to accepting the facts—realpolitik—and would accept, for instance, six Yugoslav or six Soviet republics.

Industrial Workers To Leave Iraq 26 Oct

LD1710153290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] A delegation comprising members of the management of CKD Prague, Industrial Construction Zlin, and Technoexport Prague, which was negotiating departure of 32 of our specialists working on the construction of the Iraqi Daura engineering plant, has returned from Iraq. They succeeded in reaching an agreement on the gradual termination of the work and on the departure of our workers. The first group will leave on 26 October. According to the delegation, all citizens working on this construction site are well. Their Iraqi partner said that they are not hostages and enjoy absolutely free movement.

Soviet Official Justifies Imports Restrictions

AU1710160890 Prague PRACE in Czech 11 Nov 90 p 3

["hj"-signed report: "A Stop to the Escape Route"]

[Text] A short TASS report revealed that the Soviet Union will introduce temporary licenses for all imports, except medical supplies and food, from Hungary, the former GDR, and Czechoslovakia in the period from 15 October to 31 December 1990. This involves goods delivered outside the agreed upon yearly protocol and on the basis of contracts concluded after 1 September 1990. Our Moscow correspondent asked V. Demchuk, department chief at the State Commission for External Economic Relations at the Council of Ministers of the USSR, for an interview:

In his reply V. Demchuk pointed to the increasing imbalance in our mutual trade relations. While on 1 January 1990 the CSFR's surplus in the USSR amounted 670 million rubles [R], by 15 September it increased to R1.03 billion. "Our partners try to increase this surplus because, as is generally known, it will be transferred into dollars after 1 January 1991. They are doing so even though the exchange rate at which this surplus will be converted has not been determined," he said. "I believe that without the agreed transition to payments in hard currency our partners would not try to increase our indebtedness. The introduction of temporary restrictions on imports from your country is only a defensive measure. We are not talking about a ban on imports, but about their limitation, which does not apply to the exchange of goods for other goods. A Soviet enterprise which wants to buy goods from your country to which the import license applies can ask the USSR Ministry of External Economic Relations for permission." Finally, V. Demchuk stated that the USSR did not expect too much from this measure, yet without it the imbalance in trade relations would deteriorate even more.

Joint Flemish Radio, Television Pact Signed

LD1710222190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2105 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Jiri Kanturek, director general of the Czechoslovak Television, and Jan Ceuleers, director general of Flemish-Belgian Television and Radio, signed in Prague today an agreement on cooperation and coproduction. The agreement is about a number of joint or exchange activities and applies to federal broadcasting F1 and both national television channels.

Diplomatic Ties Established With Oman 15 Oct

WA1710164090

For Omani reportage on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the Sultanate of Oman, please see the Arabian Peninsula Division, Oman section of the 17 October Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT.

Micanek Clarifies New International Refugee Law

AU1810090790 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 13 Oct 90 p 2

[Interview with Dr. Lumir Micanek, one of the authors of the new refugee law, by Hana Vojtova; place and date not given: "Who Will Stay With Us?"—first paragraph is MLADA FRONTA DNES introduction]

[Text] There are approximately 600 refugees from Romania, Turkey, Albania, Bulgaria, and the USSR in refugee camps in Zastavce near Brno, Jablonecek near Mimon, and Krasna Lipa near Rumburk. Refugees have become a reality in today's Czechoslovakia and, let us admit it, they have caught us rather unprepared. Irrespective of the public's inconsistent reaction, the ministries have recently been tossing the problem around like a hot potato. One of the reasons was the uselessness of the valid legal regulations for granting political asylum. A change in attitudes is bringing a law on refugees which should become valid at the beginning of next year following discussions in the governments and parliaments of the republics and the federation. The CSFR will become the second eastern bloc state (after Hungary) to create conditions for joining the Geneva Convention and the New York Protocol on Refugees. These are documents dealing with refugee issues from the point of view of international law. We asked Dr. Lumir Micanek, one of the law's authors and an employee in the secretariat of the government commissioner for refugee issues attached to the federal Interior Ministry, to give us more details on the law being prepared.

[Vojtova] Who will be granted refugee status?

[Micanek] This status will be granted to foreigners who have a justified fear of persecution for racial, national, or religious reasons or for their political convictions or for belonging to a specific social group. It may also be granted for humanitarian reasons or for reasons pertaining to the protection of human rights. Each request will be considered individually with the aim of eliminating so-called economic emigration. Refugee status will not be granted to persons who have committed serious crimes. Some foreigners want to remain in Czechoslovakia, others just want to use it as a transit country. The refugees' allowance, as in other countries, will be limited by the economic situation in Czechoslovakia. Anyone wishing to help may transfer money into the government commissioner's humanitarian account (the koruna account is with the Czechoslovak State Bank, Prague 1: account No. 6015-2506-881. The foreign currency account is with the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank, Prague 1: account No. 3427-9868/090).

[Vojtova] The selection of those interested in refuge in the CSFR will be influenced by a number of factors. How will they be considered and by whom?

[Micanek] Requests for asylum will be expedited within a three month period by the passport and foreign nationals registration offices in the areas where the refugee camps are located. If the decision is negative, foreigners may appeal to our secretariat or, if the need arises, to the UN high commissioner for refugees in Vienna.

[Vojtova] If a foreigner is granted refugee status, what prospects await him in our country?

[Micanek] Following a necessarily long period. they will be provided with free services which, however, will be dependent on their residence in a refugee camp. Refugees will be obliged to look for work so that they can reimburse the costs of their residence in the CSFR as quickly as possible from their own resources. It is envisaged that they will look for an apartment and will try to become familiar with their new environment. The state will provide them with free language courses in Czech and Slovak and with elementary education for their children. It is not yet absolutely clear how health care will be reimbursed. In general, we can say that the provisions of the refugee law should grant refugees more rights than foreigners, but not more than our citizens. Following five years of continuous residence in the CSFR and the fulfillment of other conditions, refugees may apply for citizenship."

Further Reportage on Antall's 6-Day U.S. Visit

Antall Speaks on Plan To End Warsaw Pact

LD1610215790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] Hungary will initiate the termination of the Warsaw Pact military organization at the summit of the alliance due to be held on 3 November in Budapest. This was pointed out by Jozsef Antall in his lecture held before members of the Foreign Relations Council. According to the prime minister, there is also a need to retain a political consultative body because our security situation is not firm enough following German unification and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Should Hungary leave the Warsaw Pact, then no other international treaty will guarantee its safety. Because of this, our country will initiate the extension of the CSCE. Jozsef Antall pointed out that bilateral and multilateral connections should be established with NATO and the Soviet Union until a new, nondivided Europe has evolved. The Hungarian head of government added that there would be the guarantee of European safety if the United States increased its military role in the continent.

Discusses Ties With USSR

LD1610220690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] Jozsef Antall, in his New York lecture, emphasized that maintaining the political consultative body of the Warsaw Pact can ensure a regular political dialogue with Moscow. The head of government called this important because in the present confusion of Central and Eastern Europe, mutual Soviet-Hungarian accusations should stop. Hostility does not help to ease the serious crisis that was caused by the collapse of trade between the two countries and the halting of Soviet oil deliveries. Prime Minister Antall confirmed that the confidence crisis is contrary to the intentions of the Hungarian Government. Our country wants decent cooperation with the Soviet Union. The Hungarian prime minister sent a telegram to this effect to President Gorbachev when congratulating him on his winning the Nobel Peace Prize.

Arrives in Washington

LD1810084590 Budapest MTI in English 0630 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] Washington, October 17 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall arrived in Washington on Wednesday [17 October] after his New York visit.

The prime minister and his party were flown to Andrews Air Force Base near Washington in the personal aeroplane of the American Government. From there, they proceeded by helicopter.

Lawrence Eagleburger, first deputy secretary of state, welcomed Mr. Antall and the Hungarian delegation on the park located at the back of the White House. Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky joined the delegation on Wednesday after completing his brief visit to Toronto.

Several talks are scheduled to be held in Blair House, the American Government's guest house, now the accomodation of the Hungarian delegation.

Prime Minister Antall received Barber Conable, president of the World Bank. They continued their talks [which were] opened recently in Budapest, on cooperation between Hungary and the World Bank.

Bela Kadar, Hungarian minister of international economic relations, met Carla Hills, the government official in charge of trade talks, Lawrence Eagleburger, American Government coordinator of the assistance being provided to the Central-East European countries, and other officials.

At the economic-commercial talks, the Hungarians will again request that the Republic of Hungary be treated in the same way as other European countries in everything, and that the pecking order obstructing normal relations be lifted. They wish to ensure their American partners that Hungary's efforts to achieve European integration are not at all at odds with American interests. The Hungarians are ready to cooperate with the United States over the success of the GATT round, and to take a joint stand against agricultural protectionism.

The talks will also focus on Hungary's serious economic situation. Discussions will be held about the Gulf crisis, the disintegration of Hungarian-Soviet economic relations, and the losses deriving from the Soviet oil delivery cut-backs.

On Wednesday morning, Peter Boross, political secretary of state of the prime minister's office, held talks with William Webster, director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told Hungarian journalists that this meeting also indicates the growing confidence between the two governments. A common goal is to eliminate all activities which could possibly be termed hostile. On the agenda are furthering cooperation in crime prevention, and in combating international terrorism.

Also on Wednesday morning, Prime Minister Antall received senior Republican senators, and is scheduled to meet representatives of Hungarian Americans in Washington.

President George Bush will receive the Hungarian prime minister on Thursday.

Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky held a lecture on Wednesday in the political research centre of the Heritage Foundation, about the achievements of Hungarian foreign policy, and issues of the Central-East European region.

Meets World Bank President

LD1810085190 Budapest MTI in English 0635 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] Washington, October 17 (MTI)—The World Bank holds Hungary in high regard for repaying its debts on time, and wishes to continue its close cooperation with Budapest, chiefly in accelerating the privatization programme, Hungarian Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo said, reporting on the talks between Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Barber Conable, president of the World Bank. The meeting took place in Washington on Wednesday.

The Hungarians said that the government has committed itself to speeding up privatization and import liberalization. It thus wishes to promote the soonest possible streamlining of the Hungarian economy in the framework of the deteriorating external circumstances. The government is also preparing to handle the unemployment and other problems that will accompany transformation, and to create a welfare net.

Mr. Conable pledged his support for the Hungarian programmes and ideals, particularly that of accelerating privatization. He acknowledged that Hungary will, as ever, do everything it can to repay its debts on time. This is a basic condition for the continuity of necessary support given to Hungary. Hungary is a reliable partner, thus further and close cooperation can be expected, the president of the World Bank said during the talks.

Holds Talks With CIA Director

LD1810085790 Budapest MTI in English 0641 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] Washington, October 17 (MTI)—Prime Minister Jozsef Antall received William Webster, director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in his accommodation on Wednesday. Peter Boross, political secretary of state of the prime minister's office, also held talks with Mr. Webster, as was reported in an earlier item.

Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo said it was clarified at the talks that, in the changed political situation, the Hungarian special services strive for the same, or similar cooperation with the competent American organizations as the special services of Western Europe—mainly in the interest of the joint fight against terrorism. This cooperation is not directed against other countries.

On Wednesday, Mr. Antall met leaders of Hungarian organizations in America, in the Kossuth House in Washington. The prime minister was welcomed by reformed clergyman Imre Bertalan.

In his speech, Mr. Antall said Hungary is in need of the moral support of the Hungarians abroad, in its current, difficult situation. Hungarians living abroad can promote the country's development also by encouraging economic relations.

The prime minister and his party then placed a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the Arlington Cemetery, and paid their respects at the grave of Gyula Stahel-Szamwald, the general of Hungarian origin in the American Civil War.

In the late evening hours, Central European time, the prime minister met leaders of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, on Capitol Hill.

Mr. Antall will then attend a reception hosted in his honour in the Hungarian Embassy. The reception will also honour the Hungarian national day, October 23, the anniversary of the outbreak of the 1956 Hungarian revolution.

Discusses Importance of Central Europe

LD1810103890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] [Announcer] Yesterday Jozsef Antall also visited the Kossuth House in Washington where a meeting was organized by the reformed churches. We are giving a passage from the prime minister's speech held before representatives of Hungarians in America with the help of Voice of America.

[Begin Antall recording] If the economic life of the countries, which have become free, collapses and these countries get into a crisis from which they cannot get out, then everything will have been in vain and the consquences will concern the whole world. No international crisis, no local clash may arise—no matter how important it may be from an economic or political point of view—which diverts attention from these other points of the world and its ultimate issues. If anyone, it is we Hungarians who know this. We know that the Suez crisis in 1956 made the world forget about the matter of the Hungarian revolution and fight for freedom; it disappeared from the front pages in an instant. Only when we had already been trampled down and when we could become a piece of news by the fact that Hungary had been defeated, was interest—which was rather emotional—aroused. We have to call to everyone's attention to the present Gulf crisis. However decisive it is from the point of view of the economic life of the world—it is hitting us particularly—it must not divert attention from Central Europe. This social and political process, which dominated in the past decades, invariably makes Central Europe the strategic point where the future of Europe, the U.S., and the world will turn, even if the sharpest crisis appears to be now in the Near East. For us, the lesson of 1956 is a reminder of this, too. [end recording]

Nation To Become Council of Europe Member

LD1810095890 Budapest MTI in English 0652 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] Strasbourg, Brussels, October 17 (MTI)—The committee of ministers of the Council of Europe held a session in Strasbourg on Wednesday, at a deputy ministerial level, and extended an invitation to Hungary to become one of its members.

According to the communique forwarded to MTI's Brussels correspondent, the committee of ministers examined Hungary's membership request, presented on November 16, 1989. It acknowledged the declared intention of the Hungarian Government to sign the European convention on human rights. As the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe also adopted a favourable position at its last session regarding the Hungarian request, the body decided that:

1. It will invite Hungary to become a member of the Council of Europe,

2. It will fix the number of Hungarian representatives to the parliamentary assembly at seven,

3. It will determine the proportion of Hungary's contribution to the financial funds of the Council of Europe. (1.33 per cent of the annual budget of 400 million French francs, plus, over and above this, a 1.21 per cent contribution to the upkeep of the human rights court building, and a similar contribution of 252,700 French francs, to the working capital fund of the council.

Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe, informed Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky of the resolution of the committee of ministers, in a letter.

When the parliamentary assembly pledged its support for the Hungarian membership request, during the visit of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to Strasbourg on October 2, the Council of Europe planned to be able to welcome Hungary as a member at the next session on a foreign ministerial level, scheduled to be held in Rome on November 6.

Mr. Jacobo, press chief of the Council of Europe, told MTI's correspondent that the first point on the agenda of the Rome session will be the ceremony accepting Hungary as a member. Hungary will thus become the first member of the Council of Europe from Central-East Europe.

New Ambassador's Meeting With Iliescu Viewed

AU1810170690 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Oct 90 p 2

[Report by Bucharest correspondent Tibor Bogdan: "More Than One-Hour Exchange of Views With Iliescu—Our New Ambassador in Romania Presented His Credentials"]

[Text] Erno Rudas, Hungary's new ambassador in Bucharest, presented his credentials to Romanian President Ion Iliescu on 15 October during an informal exchange of views free of all the rigidity of protocol. The meeting, originally planned for 30 minutes, lasted one hour and 15 minutes, and this means that the two sides had a more comprehensive review of bilateral relations and of the state and prospects of our special relations than customary at such occasions.

The two sides agreed that both countries have a common interest because both of them want to develop their mutual cooperation, and they also agreed that bilateral relations can and should be expanded on new foundations in the future. The changes that have taken place in Romania following the events of December 1989, as well as the radical and comprehensive changes that have taken place in Hungary, open up broad prospects for such relations. Therefore, under the current circumstances, the politicians of the two countries also have a historical responsibility concerning the settling of Hungarian-Romanian relations.

Erno Rudas conveyed Hungarian President Arpad Goncz' greeting to President Iliescu, as well as a message according to which Arpad Goncz will reply to the Romanian president's proposal for a high-level meeting soon.

USSR Alters Delivery Schedule for Electricity

LD1710120490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Interview with Gyorgy Hatvani, chief executive of the Electricity Board, by Attila Czenszer; place and date not goven—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Alarming news is arriving about electricity supplies to Hungary from the Soviet Union; however, I read in today's NEPSZABADSAG that, according to the Ministry of Industry and Trade, neither production nor consumption have yet been affected by the hopefully temporary restriction of energy deliveries from the Soviet Union. What has happened, and can the disrupted Soviet electricity supplies be substituted for in some manner?

[Czenszer] After the reduction of crude oil supplies, the Soviet partner has now announced a reduction in electricity supplies as well. How great a reduction can the country cope with?

[Hatvani] I must correct you a bit. It is not the delivery of electrical power that has been reduced; rather, the timetable for delivery has been altered. Because of internal maintenance difficulties, they have no available capacity. This reduction in capacity in the evening peak period last week was 640-650 megawatts. This week they made a correction of 900 megawatts, and during the remaining period of the week—until the 20th, as far as we can see—there is likely to be a need for a somewhat smaller correction, but they will not be able to supply the quantity contracted for. [passage omitted]

In the long run, the replacement of Soviet imports, in my opinion, can only be solved by power-generating construction at home.

Deputy Proposes Dispatch of Troops to Gulf

LD1710181590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Committees have been holding meetings in parliament in Budapest. Agnes Papp reports.

[Papp] Hungary should send troops to assist the settlement of the Gulf crisis, Independent Deputy Bela Kiraly suggested in the parliament building. At today's session of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committees, the deputies decided that the Foreign Ministry should hold negotiations with the UN secretary general and examine in detail the possibility and necessity of the Hungarian Army's participation, and report to the committees on the results of the discussions. In light of this report, parliament should then decide on the proposal. [passage omitted]

Detailed Report on National Assembly Session

LD1610152390

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0903 GMT on 16 October carries a relay of the Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest. The announcer says that the defense law will be amended in the morning, and debates will take place in the afternoon.

The acting speaker opens the sitting at 0908 GMT and names those assisting him during the morning; an attendance check is then carried out. Aladar Horvath of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), asks for time to talk about increasing hostilities toward gypsies before the main debate begins. He emphasizes the need to protect minorities in danger and guarantee their rights. Istvan Morva, state secretary for Ministry of the Interior, then says police measures must be taken against those who commit offenses against minorities.

Following this, Defense Minister Lajos Fur presents an amendment of the 1976 Defense Law concerning the length of military service. The amendment is to reduce the length of military service from 18 months to 12 months. Laszlo Salamon of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and chairman of the Constitutional Committee, supports the amendment on behalf of his committee, which put forward one further amendment. Gyergy Balogh of the Independent Smallholders Party (FKgP) and chairman of the Defense Committee, also supports the amendment, but says what is needed is a new defense law, which is under preparation. The development of our new defense doctrine is also in progress for the changing conditions after the end of the Warsaw Pact military association. He repeats much of what the minister said, saying that this is so important, you must hear it several times. His committee considered the possibility of further reductions in the period of military service, but this is not presently feasible because of the technical complexities which require lengthy training. Furthermore, the defense requirements of the country also prevent additional reductions. He outlines the range of debates his committee had about various aspects of nonarmed military service. He recommends the acceptance of the amendment.

Imre Mecs of the SZDSZ then outlines a minority report from the Defense Committee, saying we need to be in line with the recommendations of the European Parliament with respect to unarmed service; the rights to this should not be examined by military authorities, and the length of unarmed and reserve service should be the same as the armed service.

The general debate begins at 1005 GMT. Tamas Wachsler of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) says this law—a very bad law—and its amendment are important for the members of his party, and outlines his proposed further amendments concerning requests for unarmed service options. The existence of such options does not present a threat to the military power of the country, as only a small number take advantage of them. Education, he says, should be taken out of the sphere of the military. He recommends the introduction of six months military service.

Antal Gaal of the MDF then talks about the past relations between the military and the civil population. These relations must be different under the changing climate, but there should be no reversion to the earlier, privileged position of the Army, he says. The law, as amended, should reflect to the world the new image of the Hungarian Army, which fits into the liberal democratic environment. Imre Mecs of the SZDSZ speaks up and corrects his earlier reference to the European Parliament to the Council of Europe.

Continuing the discussion of the defense law, Ferenc Inotai of the FKgP says that this law has been patched up so many times that the original is hardly visible; it will have to be replaced. Until then, however, it needs to be patched up once more for the sake of continuity. He says too much time should not be spent on this interim law, when the new defense law, presently being drafted, will be presented in six months. Some points, however, need to be considered concerning length of service and nonarmed service.

Sandor Szili of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) enters the debate and talks about the out-of-date text of the law. He says discrimination between armed and unarmed service is contrary to European principles. The needs for the social safety net makes the unarmed service very important for society, as do the needs of the infrastructure. Shorter conscription would be more in line with needs and capacity of the country, and a six-month period is recommended.

Bela Horvath of the MDF says the current debate only touches on a narrow area of the defense law. He draws attention to a number of other important points, such as those which authorize emergency measure, virtually amounting to the suspension of constitutionality. He would rather make some comments now about the preparation of the new law; this should clearly state the rights and duties of the military during peacetime and under conditions of emergency or war. An editorial committee should be appointed, with the inclusion of various experts, to assist the drafting of the new law. Our defense requirements are different now, but the provisions of the defense law should guarantee our defense against dangers of "aggressive adventures" such as those to which Kuwait has been to. He recommends the establishment of a professional army.

Zsuzsanna Pelenyi of the FIDESZ continues the discussion and says the alternative service option should not be made available to people with a criminal background. The new law should demonstrate our European credentials concerning unarmed service, which is as important and as demanding as armed service. Attila Kalman of the MDF then says that unarmed service should be longer, and a professional army is no real option.

Zoltan Rockenbauer of the FIDESZ adds to this and says the basic right for unarmed service has already been established, if with difficulties. Freedom of conscience is a fundamental principle for the parties that are now presented in parliament; therefore, those who are unwilling to kill under any conditions because of their religion must not be discriminated against. Our Constitution guarantees this.

Bela Kiraly, an independent, then makes a contribution on a personal basis. He says that the basis of security lies in the stability of society and its economy, not in the Army. If such a country is attacked, the world stands behind it. The most important aspect of the Army is its spirit, he says. Recent changes have demonstrated a lack of consultation, such as the abolition of different orders and the term "comrade" [bajtars]. There must be confidence in the Army, and this can be achieved by the Army's patriotism.

Following Bela Kiraly's comments, Tamas Tirts of the FIDESZ expresses hope that, as a result of the Vienna disarmament negotiations, a smaller, advanced army could be the basis of the military in the future. He accepts the amendment as a step toward six-month conscription. On the issue of the educational aspects of the Army, he makes some comments on the basis of recent, personal experiences. The spirit of the Army has not yet changed sufficiently, textbooks still talk about the Marxist-Leninist principles, he says.

Istvan Csurka of the MDF then feels the need to comment on some of the issues raised, otherwise the impression will be that parliament has abandoned its reason. Foreign policy is the best defense, it has been heard, but I must add, not if it is not supported by solid defense capacity, he says. Democracy is no substitute for self-defense, as the example of Switzerland demonstrates. We must recognize that, for the Army, the useful men are those who are trained; these are the ones who are of value for our country's defense. Those who do not wish to do such service must be given the opportunity, but the focus of the law must be those who provide the armed services. He says that the educational aspects of the Army must be wider ranging, including many aspects of social education as well. Military service is a duty, and it must remain so.

Viktor Orban of the FIDESZ then comments that much of this debate is part of the debate on the new defense law. For a small country like Hungary, the doctrine of self-defense is not practicable: "Hungary will never be able to defend itself," he says. He rejects the discrimination between armed and unarmed service made by Csurka, in which Csurka gave his opinionon which is more valuable for the country. There is no place for education in the Army in his view, only for some tuition.

After Orban's comments, Tibor Derdak of the SZDSZ says this is a "peace-loving" parliament, and talks about earlier peace movements and their attempts to introduce the unarmed service. Our defense needs must now focus in different directions and must provide arguments for the peace movements of the neighboring countries where aggressive voices are being heard.

Miklos Borz of the FKgP then interjects and says much of the talk so far is concentrating on the dismantling of the Army. He says that the Warsaw Pact will soon cease to exist, we must provide our own defenses, and we cannot rely on anyone. We cannot count on the protection of other countries; they did not come to our defense in 1956. The right of nonmilitary service must be weighed against the rights of the Hungarian population to live within secure borders. Our neighbors must be looked at carefully. Look at the example of Kuwait: unpreparedness gives encouragement to aggressors. He talks about the hardships of armed service compared to the comfortable lifestyle of unarmed service. He supports the amended law.

The general debate on the defense law is suspended after one hour and 49 minutes of discussion. When the proceedings resume, a number of questions are asked and ministers' replies are given on several topics unrelated to defense.

Matyas Szuros is in the chair and he puts the question of reducing military service to the house. There is no quorum, however, because during the break, the MDF held a news briefing, and most of the deputies are still there. Szuros then reads the list of those willing to speak for the deputies to confirm their intention. He asks the house to vote on restricting contributions to five minutes. There is agreement, and the house now has a quorum.

Dr. Tamas Lukacs of the Christian Democratic People's Party then speaks on behalf of the Human Rights Committee. He says that the old law is wholly unsuitable to create a modern army; therefore, modifications are more than necessary.

Following Dr. Lukacs' remarks, Dr. Judit Csehak of the MSZP states that she supports the 18-month civilian service because the value of civilian service is just as high as that of armed military service. Besides, she says, the health service could use these young men.

Ivan Darvas of the SZDSZ then questions the need for any army, and says that it would be much more topical to speak about people starving in Hungary and the solutions to their problems than about modernizing the Army. Arpad Miklos of the MDF supports the premise that there is need for a solid, stable, and independent Hungarian Army. He considers a one-year military service sufficient. Sandor Toth of the Christian Democratic People's Party, speaking as a father of four boys, continues the discussion and says that the issue is very important; however, he does not actually say whether he supports or rejects the idea of the Army.

National Assembly Chairman Gyorgy Szabad enters the debate and says that pacifism only has meaning if it is mutual and multilateral. Thus, the Army is presently a "necessary evil." After some historical examples and lengthy quotations he says that a soldier must still obey civilian law. Bela Nemeth of the FKgP comments on Szabad's remarks and says that military and civilian service do not really compare; he suggests adopting the proposal of different time for the two services. Miklos Haraszti of the SZDSZ then offers his opinion, saying there should not be discrimination between civilian and military service, thus voicing his support for the FIDESZ proposal. Finally, Dr. Laszlo Koverof the FIDESZ mentions the example of Japan, and says that it has not become a leading country in the world by developing its army, but by having a very advanced educational system.

Following this discussion, Zoltan Varga of the MDF suggests closing the general debate on the question; Szuros, the acting chairman. agrees. The debate is then closed. Szuros then asks the Defense and Constitutional Committees to discuss the amending proposals. The house votes to start begin debate with 230 affirmative votes. The detailed debate will take place on Saturday, 20 October. After discussion and voting on various issues unrelated to defense, the session adjourns at 1723 GMT.

Report on Lack of Minority Representation

AU1710181090 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Oct 90 p 3

[Janos Gyurok report: "Why Are There No National Minority Representatives in Parliament?"]

[Text] The author of the following report is an activist from the Mladost organization, an association which includes young Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes living in Hungary. Janos Gyurok expresses his novel ideas on an issue which has been discussed for a long time—namely, the parliamentary representation of national minorities in Hungary.

"One has to assume that by now, the government parties and the opposition parties have formulated their concepts on national minorities in Hungary. Nevertheless, many formulations are still ambiguous or vague, even though we cannot doubt the sincerity and honesty of any of the authors of these formulations.

"Nevertheless, it would still be worthwhile to examine the similarities between Hungarian points of view, and points of view voiced in other European states. It is striking that in former socialist countries, only very vague guarantees have been formulated to outline the political representation of national minorities. Nowadays, it is a fact that all the Hungarian parliamentary parties have representatives that belong to one of the national/ethnic minority groups. At the same time, these representatives were generally not elected into parliament through the votes cast by the relevant national minority. Their election was made possible by accident through the law on elections. This also explains why there has been no breakthrough in our domestic policy on national minorities.

"Indeed, the representatives who were elected in this way must, first and foremost, logically follow their party's interests. This, of course, does not contradict the logic of a parliamentary democracy, but one can still pause to think about how the rules of the game in parliament can be polished when it comes to national minorities. There is plenty of time; the representatives who have been elected through the votes of the national minorities will definitely not be voted into parliament again before the next elections. This time will hopefully be sufficient for everyone to realize that without institutional guarantees for the representation of national minorities—guarantees which reassure everybody, including the majority—we cannot say that the system of democratic institutions is complete, nor will a more understanding and loyal attitude toward national minorities be able to flourish.

"Until the time comes when our representatives can be voted directly in parliament, there is an indirect possibility. National minority intellectuals are no longer solely academic writers; the greatest number by far are young intellectuals from other professions. A lot of these people could, therefore, play an active role in the elaboration of decisions concerning national minorities, not only on the basis of their ethnic origins, but also on the basis of their professional capabilities. The inclusion of such experts would enable national minorities to have a serious and genuine influence on the issues that concern them in the area of politics, economics, legislation, as well as state administration."

Finance Minister Foresees 'Difficult Year'

LD1710222290 Budapest MTI in English 1721 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 17 (MTI)—The country is facing a difficult year, both entrepreneurs and private individuals have to undertake considerable sacrifices to keep the economy viable and help preserve the country's solvency, Ferenc Rabar, minister of finance, told a press conference in Budapest on Wednesday.

The rapid deterioration in external economic conditions has narrowed further the government's scope of activity. The basic tasks of halting indebtedness and curbing inflation can only be accomplished by strict belt-tightening measures.

The finance minister ascribed utmost importance to setting up a market economy as soon as possible, to the implementation of the last few measures needed to complete liberalization, to stabilizing the forint and making it partially convertible, as well as to further restricting personal consumption in this transitory period.

Major price rises are expected for early next year as a result of the adjustment of energy prices to world market levels and more expensive rouble imports mainly as a result of the switch to dollar accounting. However, the subsequent stabilization measures may halt the price rises form spiralling further, meaning the annual inflation rate can be kept at around 32-35 per cent.

To make the market conditions comprehensive, the forint will be made partially convertible. Partial convertibility will in effect mean current account convertibility for corporate financial transactions. Accordingly, imports will be wholly liberalized next year. It remains to be seen whether the forint's exchange rate will be freed or fixed against another currency.

The finance minister was of the opinion that the economy could begin to grow to a small extent in late 1991, amid the conditions of the market economy and as a result of successful stabilization.

Walesa Outlines Campaign Policy at Sendzimir

LD1710164590 Warsaw PAP in English 1133 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Krakow, Oct. 17—"We have now an opportunity to make Poland our own country," said Lech Walesa during his visit to the Sendzimir (formerly Lenin) steel mill. He is now here on another leg of his presidential campaign.

"I decided to run as a candidate for president because I am dissatisfied with the pace and directions of the reforms and with what is now taking place in Poland. I decided to once more undertake the struggle and to lead it," Walesa said stressing that "he meant reforms that are safe and often consulted with working people."

The visit preceded Walesa's today's meeting with Krakow intellectuals and residents and the board of the Malopolska Solidarity region.

Mazowiecki Registered as Presidential Candidate

LD1710162990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] The State Electoral Commission, following the completion of the appropriate formalities, has decided to register Tadeusz Mazowiecki as a candidate in the presidential elections called for 25 November. Henryk Wozniakowski, head of the Tadeusz Mazowiecki's electoral staff, collected the registration decision.

Mazowiecki Inaugurates Own Presidential Campaign

AU1710104590 Warsaw PAP in English 2046 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] Krakow, October 14—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today inaugurated his presidential campaign during numerous meetings in Krakow.

He paid a visit to Krakow's metropolitan, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, and next met with farmers at the Collegium Chemicum at the Jagiellonian University. Referring to rumours, Mazowiecki said that not one square meter of land would be taken away from peasants who received it after the agrarian reform.

"They will also not have to pay any compensation. I am not promising impossible things. As president I would like to secure peace and agreement for Poland, and a due place in Europe and the world. As for the Polish countryside, I want the enterprise of Polish farmers to be backed by care for the stability of their workplaces," Mazowiecki said.

During a walk along Krakow's historical district, the presidential candidate was cheered on by hundreds of Krakow residents. During a meeting organized by the Alliance for Democracy at Krakow's Philharmonic Hall, Mazowiecki presented the outline of his program. "The common goal is to rebuild the authority of law, and restore security of property and stability of money. One cannot give in to demagogues who have magical ideas about how to overhaul the Polish economy," said he.

Speaking about his vision of the president's office, Mazowiecki stated that the president should influence the country's stability, safeguard the Constitution, represent the Republic of Poland, and chart out the state's strategy. "I did not want such a distinction but I entered the presidential elections to save the fragile Polish democracy from possible unforeseeable shocks," Mazowiecki said.

During the meeting Mazowiecki announced that on August 31 he proposed a compromise solution to Lech Walesa consisting in forwarding a third candidate. "I could not accept the reply of Lech Walesa proposing that if he became president, I would continue to be prime minister. I did not accept it not because I changed my respect for Walesa but because his vision of the president's office does not suit me and promised short-lived cooperation," the premier said.

In the afternoon, Mazowiecki met with representatives of local governments of the Malopolska region and the residents of Nowa Huta as well as members of the Alliance for Democracy.

Interior Ministry Arrests Deemed Election Tactic

AU1810092190 Gdansk TYGODNIK GDANSKI in Polish 14 Oct 90 p 16

[Jacek Kurski commentary: "The Carrot"]

[Text] Prime Minister Mazowiecki's election carrot has been the ostentatious arrest of five former officers from the Ministry of Internal Affairs after a year of treating several thousand others like them with the greatest of courtesy and graciousness. For one whole year, no one, not even one single person was arrested from that whole criminal band of apparatchiks who served those previous ruling cliques! Instead, they were able to burn thousands of archives and cover up their traces as the authorities looked on feigning helplessness.

Generals Milewski, Ciaston, and Platek and two of their subordinates are accused of inciting the murder of Father Popieluszko and corruption on an unimaginable scale (kilograms of gold). Each of the offenses provides sufficient grounds for arresting any suspect and placing him in investigative custody. However, you never find evidence for crimes that differ so much in their nature as well in legal terms being accumulated on one day. Evidence for one of the crimes must have been collected first and that would have been sufficient for an immediate arrest. However, it was decided to wait. It was decided to wait for the presidential election campaign, and that suggests to me—I am somewhat sensitive about this—that without it, the comrade generals would never have been arrested at all.

That the decision to scrap the construction of Zarnowiec [planned nuclear power plant] after nonsensical delays that cost a quarter of a billion zlotys a day was made precisely when the eruption of the Kuwait crises caused the price of crude to leap to $40 a barrel (there is talk of a barrel reaching $100 if war breaks out) makes me inclined to draw a similar conclusion. Or take the sudden diplomatic note about the withdrawal of Soviet forces after a year of hinting that they could stay here—it is very understandable that such a note should have been sent when you remember that one of the candidates for the presidency demanded that they should be withdrawn during talks with the Soviet ambassador in November 1989, but the government then categorically disassociated itself from any such demands.

If the prime minister thinks that the electorate has been suffering from amnesia for the past year, then he has once again failed to judge this society correctly. This stale carrot is not going to pull any extra votes.

Geremek Interviewed on Elections, Parliament

AU1710172190 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13-14 Oct 90 p 3

[Interview with Professor Bronislaw Geremek, leader of the Citizens Parliamentary Club, by Janina Paradowska; place and date not given: "Today There Is a Choice To Be Made Once Again"]

[Text] [Paradowska] Professor, does it make any sense for the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] to continue to exist? It has recently attracted attention, because of the increasingly heated disputes that have been taking place within it and the low attendance at meetings. It does not vote as a uniform bloc in the Sejm.

[Geremek] Certain processes have occurred that have led to the emergence of differences within the OKP. Although six circles have already been set up within it, none of them have wanted to leave the club so far. I think the club continues to exist, because no decision has been reached on this question. The OKP, which has 250 members, had a role to play in the strategy for the struggle against the old system. The situation has changed now, and several different clubs could be formed. I thought that the Center Accord, which initiated the split in the "Solidarity" political legacy, would follow that course. It did not do that. Half the members of the club do not belong to any grouping. As chairman, I too have not joined any grouping.

[Paradowska] However, the sympathies that one displays matter, and yours clearly lie with the Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD].

[Geremek] I think it is normal that I should express my sympathies publicly. However, as long as the OKP exists—even if only in a transitional state—I will not associate myself organizationally with anyone.

[Paradowska] However, does the existence of the OKP have any practical consequences? To be quite open about it, I cannot detect any such consequences.

[Geremek] Yes. As a rule, government economic policy and, therefore, the existence of this government unite the club. There is agreement on all legislative material concerning the economy. The differences that arise concern political issues.

[Paradowska] There is surprising agreement on economic issues in the Sejm as a whole. For example, the fact that the left votes in favor of privatization bills is rather surprising proof of the extent of that agreement.

[Geremek] The economic policy being pursued by Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government was based and continues to be based on the support of the OKP. However, because the political field is gaining in importance at the present time, becoming independent will definitely lie in the interest of various political groups.

[Paradowska] You said that the existence of the government and support for it unites the club. Recently, you were very vehement in your attack on Deputy Cimoszewicz of the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left for the speech in which he criticized the government. You were not so critical of the members of the OKP who produced those bills on gardening plots or abortion. Bills of that kind harm the government and the entire "Solidarity" movement more than what Deputy Cimoszewicz may say.

[Geremek] I realize that we all have to pay a price for legislative initiatives of the kind that you mentioned: the government, the OKP, and, I would say, Poland. There is no discipline in the OKP, no party or political structure that could enforce unity. However, the OKP is still relatively cohesive despite that. As far as Deputy Cimoszewicz's speech is concerned, a strong reaction was necessary. There are still many wrongs for which no amends have been made, and it is a bad thing if postcommunist representatives forget that.

[Paradowska] Professor, the political system in our country has been described in a variety of ways. Some people talk about postcommunism, others talk about democracy, and some even say that this is just the beginning of the path toward democracy. What would you say?

[Geremek] All the countries of postcommunist Central Europe are in a state of transition leading to democracy. Poland has become a democratic country in the sense that the law and institutions satisfy the requirements of democracy, although only presidential and parliamentary elections will complete the process. In addition to the institutional aspect, there is still the question of the social psychology of a democratic society. A democratic mentality is part of democracy, and that is something that we still do not have. One European political scientist has said that there is a timetable for the transition of the postcommunist countries toward democracy: a market economy can be achieved in six months, democratic institutions can be established in six years, but it will take 60 years to achieve a democratic mentality.

[Paradowska] All these figures with sixes sound good. However, the fall of last year showed how quickly everything in the world can change.

[Geremek] That is true. That is why I am more inclined to agree with those who say that democratic institutions will only prove themselves once there have been two changes of government through parliamentary elections. Today, Poland is a democratic state, but not a democratic society.

[Paradowska] The evolution of a nondemocratic society can proceed in various directions. Today, it is a social fact that there are people who believe that one has to go through a period of somewhat authoritarian government in order to achieve democracy.

[Geremek] Authoritarian governments possess a certain logic of their own. They are not transitional governments. In 1989 a choice was made not only by the politicians, but also by society. The "roundtable" took place in a situation in which so many injustices and animosities had been accumulated by one side and an arsenal of coercive instruments had been accumulated by the other. That was the choice. Society had effectively taken up defensive positions over the years of martial law and the period after it. That state of affairs could have continued, but the latent feelings of hatred would only have grown. The result would have been a bloody conflict and revolution. I would point out how prominent a place insurrection has in our history. We took a different course.

[Paradowska] Your critics say that the "roundtable" was good back then, in 1989, and that now it is only an obstacle. It prevents change, and preserves the arrangement with the communists, whose party has disappeared from the scene.

[Geremek] However, there is an element of continuity about the "roundtable." Today, we face a choice once again: We will either follow the evolutionary course, which will not destabilize the state and government, or we will opt for the temporary suspension of the institution of the law, of democratic institutions, and for a profound break. This latter path, which is a revolutionary one, satisfies the popular sense of justice. Recompense for past wrongs would be sought and those responsible for those wrongs would be punished. However, it is very difficult to subsequently abandon such a path. That is why I maintain that it is wisest to recognize that this fragile democracy is the only sensible way out.

[Paradowska] The political conflict in our country has very much become a conflict about personalities. To my mind, what you have said suggests that Walesa means revolution and the suspension of the law and Mazowiecki means the construction of democracy.

[Geremek] Things have developed in such a way that Walesa is currently identified with the path of revolution and Tadeusz Mazowiecki is identified with the path of evolution. For me, as a "Solidarity" man, the divisions within our movement are something painful, but I think there is no need to dramatize them excessively. That is what the laws of democracy are like. Besides, I could also say that the program of caution and boldness that is now represented by Mazowiecki was also Walesa's program for the past 10 years until he changed his opinions in the spring of this year.

[Paradowska] He has changed, because—and this is something that even his greatest critics acknowledge—he is better at sensing the mood of society than others. So, perhaps he is right?

[Geremek] If it was simple matter of Lech Walesa changing his opinion, of abandoning a sensible view and adopting a silly one, our many years of friendship would have been enough to convince him that he is wrong. However, I know that the change in Walesa's philosophy, his way of thinking and his politics are connected with the situation in Poland. The social situation is such that despite the obvious successes, there is an enormous and growing sense of frustration among people, groups, and large communities. The countryside is dissatisfied, because it feels that its vital interests are being threatened. Workers feel that their position is becoming increasingly threatened. Finally, there are the dangers present in the international situation. Poland is the only country that has welcomed German unification with such a degree of trepidation, and that is hardly surprising. Until now, "Solidarity" had a base of support in the public's attitudes and aspirations. One of the laws of election campaigning is that one seeks to win as much support as possible. So, one has to choose whether one should base support on aspirations and hopes or also on fears, frustrations, and feelings of aggression, which are on the rise.

[Paradowska] You said that we might enter on the path of suspending the law and democratic institutions, and you identified the revolutionary path with Walesa. These are arguments that I often hear, but what I do not hear is that every presidency (including a Walesa presidency, assuming he becomes president) will be a presidency within a framework that is strictly defined by law. We still have a parliament that has more power than the president, and the law is the law.

[Geremek] My understanding of this issue is partially that of a historian and partially that of a politician. At this particular time, there are two things that characterize the social situation in Poland. The first is the collective wisdom of the Poles, which means that when real crises occur, society reacts wisely, but in everyday life unfortunately it does not. In the current situation, society is beginning to look around for a savior, for a strong man, and authoritarian government. This is not a problem originating at the top: A strong man is appearing now. I would also like to point out that Poland is now the only country in Europe that has not abolished capital punishment and there is only one reason for that—parliament is delaying things, because it knows that public opinion would not be favorably disposed toward such a decision. Every democratic institution must reckon with public opinion and social attitudes. If broad circles of public opinion want strong government, revenge, and vengeance, then that is the policy that will be pursued.

[Paradowska] You said that today politicians have to choose whether they want to climb to the top by relying on hopes and aspirations or on fears and feelings of frustration. However, is it not the case that precisely because they perceive fears and feelings of frustration, they want to counteract and defuse them, and that also gives people hope.

[Geremek] If I consider the experience of the past four months, I think that the very opposite is true. During that period, the groups that have been advocating revolutionary change have been encouraging feelings of aggression in a disturbing manner. Responsibility for the nation and the country dictates that every politician, including the politician who wants to come to power very quickly, should examine his conscience. This does not—now that we have brought personalities into politics—apply to the actions of Lech Walesa, but to those around him, to those groups that act on his behalf and are calling for an end to the monopoly. Yet, at the same time, they are building a monopoly. Sometimes all manner of things can occur in politics. There were two candidates for the presidency in Peru. One of them promised that he would bring about a rapid improvement and the other proposed a policy of economic stringency measures. The first candidate won and one month into his term of office, he begin implementing his rival's policy. However, I think that the divisions in our country are becoming profound and go beyond election strategies.

[Paradowska] So far, I have not heard any serious politician promise us that things would improve rapidly; everybody is talking about stringency measures. You charge that the group of politicians around Walesa are stirring up latent discontent. In my opinion, these feelings have been prompted by the economic situation and the absence of concept for what the government should do next, which was very apparent in the spring. After all, today all political groupings have taken up the slogan of "acceleration."

[Geremek] Before the "acceleration" slogan appeared, and it was, above all, to be an acceleration in politics, there was a constant state of tension between our representatives in parliament and the government. We called for (and after a time obtained) a change in, for example, the government apparatus. We often thought that the government was acting too slowly and that we were achieving certain objectives with too much of a delay. That is a normal political state of affairs. However, is the government guilty in some sense? I think that on balance the government's record on both politics and the economy is excellent. Yet, if one does take a look at the timetable of what the government has been doing, there really was a loss of momentum in the late spring. Why did that happen? I think that the government's diagnosis of the economic situation was excellent and, therefore, it had an excellent policy for the first stage of change, but it then ran into resistance

[Paradowska] The nomenklatura?

[Geremek] Yes, we said that it was the nomenklatura, and the postcommunist left responded that that was rhetoric, a desire for revenge. I think that we accurately gauged the situation and warned against the enormous, routine character of the workings of the apparatus. However, there is also another important matter: the difficulties that arise in trying to formulate a program of structural changes. This an area in which the government did not have a program as clear as the one on monetary policy. It also failed to attach sufficient importance to the situation in agriculture, and that weighs heavily on the government now. So, I would say that it is true that the present feelings of frustration in society are the product of that loss of momentum in what the government has been doing. Yet, I also have to add that all the groups that have been advocating "acceleration" have contributed to the slowing down of economic processes.

[Paradowska] On the contrary, I think that they galvanized the government into more energetic activities.

[Geremek] That was not so. The reforms were possible, because there was a social consensus; there was agreement on the great sacrifices that had to be made. The debate on "acceleration" has broken that consensus, and that threatens to slow down the pace of reform.

[Paradowska] Society has remained calm all the time.

[Geremek] I would not say so. There is a growing number of conflicts, organizations that are to defend the interests of large social groups are emerging, and that is the reality that the government has to come to terms with. There are a lot of actions that cannot be taken, because they will be blocked. Has anything changed in heavy industry?

[Paradowska] The so-called network [loose nationwide association of "Solidarity" plant committees] for large plants has been formed. I cannot see any other changes.

[Geremek] Precisely. Nothing has changed in heavy industry, which was the product of the Stalinist economy. There have been closures, bankruptcies in light industry, the textile industry, and electronics, but heavy industry has not even budged. In addition, structures that are to defend interests are being set up in heavy industry and every government will have to deal with them. So, you see, what could have been accomplished during the first half of the year will not accomplished until the end of 1990, because of the great commotion over "acceleration." Certain conservative structures have already been created, and they will make it more difficult to implement structural changes. That is why I maintain that those who bandied around the acceleration slogan have actually slowed down the change process. The timetable will have to be extended. However, I hope that this will only affect the timetable and not the final result.

Kozlowski Comments on Interior Ministry, Changes

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[Interview with Interior Minister Krzysztof Kozlowski, by Magdalena Bajer on 7 September 1990, place not given: "I Am Not Ashamed of Speed..."]

[Text] [Bajer] Were you very surprised by what you found when you joined the Interior Ministry in March?

[Kozlowski] No, it was not too different from what I expected.

[Bajer] What were the differences?

[Kozlowski] I thought it would be more difficult to dismantle the old apparatus because of the old people, structures, and mechanisms. I thought it would take longer.

[Bajer] Am I to understand that the apparatus collapsed on its own, or was it already on the point of collapsing, and merely required a push from you? And has it collapsed completely?

[Kozlowski] I am not so brash as to say that it is possible to dislodge the apparatus in a duel or a fight. Nor I am such an optimist as to say that it has fallen apart completely. I will tell you what we have done a little later, but first I would like to make it clear that certain processes have occurred and are still occurring among society quite independently of us. The ministry was never totally cut off from what was happening in Poland, perhaps it was less cut off than we thought, than I thought. Therefore people find it a little difficult to dispense with various ideas and thought patterns, but what I am saying did take place.

[Bajer] Perhaps we should make a clear distinction between the people in question.

[Kozlowski] There is a very clear generation gap. On the one hand there was a managerial core of generals, people who thought they were witnessing some historic misunderstanding, some unfortunate episode which they thought would soon pass. On the other hand, there was a younger generation of ministerial cadres who were not so ideologically stiff, but more flexible. Of course any generalization is risky, nevertheless the dividing line between the two generations was the actual dividing line between the leadership and the rank and file.

[Bajer] Can one say that the younger people in the ministry were waiting for what eventually happened in Poland?

[Kozlowski] I think some of them were. Some of them certainly felt ill at ease in the ministry, disapproving of its methods of action. In the end, they felt relief and saw a chance for themselves. I think one should examine every such person and ask: Is it worth working with him? My purpose, and I am constantly saying this, is not to fire people indiscriminately, but to create an entire new team of people composed partly of new faces and partly of previous employees whom we consider to be professionally competent and honest. It is generally believed that everyone in the Security Service was an agent of Satan. Yet life does not consist of just black and white. It is mostly gray.

[Bajer] But certain spheres of life and public service possess a darker shade of gray.

[Kozklowski] Of course. That exacerbates the dilemma.

[Bajer] I imagine that solving the dilemma would please people.

[Kozlowski] I am interested in doing that, though it involves a risk. By letting certain people remain in the ministry and hold certain posts, I myself am in danger.

[Bajer] What is the greater danger, that some of these people will continue to act the way they did, in other words dishonestly, or that your prestige and that of your team will be spoilt? Society is sensitive toward the present authority's "liberalism," especially in the sphere about which we are talking.

[Kozlowski] When I mention a risk, I have in mind the risk that old employees may continue with their old methods. When undertaking this risk, I guide myself by my own conscience, though of course I would not like to earn a bad reputation, and certainly not give the government a bad reputation.

[Bajer] How many old employees are there left in the ministry, and what has changed?

[Kozlowski] A lot has changed, but a lot of readers will not believe that, and they will quote names of people who have been working in the ministry since the time of Kiszczak and beyond. So I will show you a certain document, a pamphlet entitled "List of Leadership Posts in the Ministry of Internal Affairs." I obtained it in March when I became deputy minister. It contains 138 names. During subsequent months I crossed out with a ballpoint pen the names of those who had left.

[Bajer] That is a lot.

[Kozlowski] Of these 138 people, 100 left the ministry before any job certification had taken place. The remainder changed their positions. As you can see, changes at the top of the ministry already occurred earlier, and quickly.

[Bajer] However, a lot of people expect a public announcement about the atrocities committed by the old SB [Security Service], together with the publication of the names of those responsible.

[Kozlowski] It is not so easy to provide evidence of these atrocities. Great care was taken to destroy it. If I find any evidence, I hand it over to the prosecutor general, as was the case with the files on Grzegorz Przemyk [a student murdered by the SB], which we salvaged probably in the nick of time. We convey any evidence of financial misdeeds to the Supreme Chamber of Control. I repeat, it is not my job to settle scores. That is the business of the courts. All I can do is dismiss people about whom I have suspicions or whom I think should not be working in the ministry, and that is what I am doing.

[Bajer] Who has taken the place of the 100 people fired from the ministry leadership?

[Kozlowski] We have filled some of the vacancies by "pulling" people out of the rank and file and promoting them. We hired the remainder from outside the ministry, and in fact the leadership is smaller now. As far as the police are concerned, however, I did not want to go as far as to replace the old leadership officers with fresh civilians, as people suggested I should, because I thought the police requires professionals. Therefore, instead of the old generals or colonels, the voivodship chiefs of police are younger captains and majors, and even a lieutenant in one case. Every voivodship chief of police is new, except two, and the majority of regional police chiefs is being demoted. Apart from that, we have imposed a rather arbitrary upper age limit, 55.

[Bajer] That means that there fewer people to be called to account.

[Kozlowski] Later, when we conducted the personnel review, we considered people who had held lower posts, and whose responsibility is therefore lower. Let me repeat that the people responsible for what the SB did were not those who worked on Rakowiecka Street, but those in the "White House," in other words the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee headquarters. Without absolving the Interior Ministry of sin, I wish to say that political responsibility is the most important issue. It is the party that provided the Interior Ministry with its image, because it lay down the ministry's objectives, as well the means with which to attain them.

Deciding who was responsible is an important issue, and there are differences of opinion among society and in parliament. Some people say that because the SB was a criminal organization, there is no more to be said; every single employee should be dismissed and put on trial. This view affected the work of the review commissions. Some of them decided they could approve for further employment only those SB employees who possessed favorable characteristics, e.g. they supported the opposition. Of course, there were not many people like that. On the other hand, other commissions ruled out people about whom it was clear that they had committed misdeeds. We tried to establish some kind of common policy at the Central Commission level.

[Bajer] And that policy turned out to be liberal.

[Kozlowski] I tell you, I did not join the ministry to carry out a vendetta, but to create a new Interior Ministry, new police, and a new Office for the Protection of the State. I need people for all this, and I am seeking them everywhere I can, people who want to work and at the same time abide by the basic principles of coexistence. Those who have been rejected by the review commissions are not being considered for employment. Of course they are filing appeals and defending their good name, which they have every right to do, but that is outside the ministry's scope. Even so, only a small percentage of those passed by these commissions will find employment in the police or Office for the Protection of the State.

[Bajer] Why?

[Kozlowski] Despite the vacancies in it, the police are very careful about offering jobs to old SB employees. They have already hired all the SB employees they wanted to. The Office for the Protection of the State has hired a few people from the intelligence and counterintelligence services. Some SB officers are commencing junior police jobs. If any high-ranking SB officer wants to start from scratch, I trust him, though not necessarily completely. If anyone has failed to answer police requests for recruitment for several months, he will not work here.

[Bajer] How many employees did the SB have?

[Kozlowski] In July 1989, over 22,000 still carried SB identity cards, and the law adopts that date as the turning point. Of that number, only 14,500 applied for the personnel review, which means that the remainder left earlier, including, as I have already said, the leadership. As we know, the review commissions only passed 8,000 people, I have rounded the figure out a little, and rejected 5,000. Some 4,500 of the rejected people have appealed to the Central Commission. We are reviewing their cases, asking voivodship review commissions for additional information, as a result of which some of them are annoyed with me and are calling for my dismissal. Too bad. Because I have to sign 4,500 final decisions by the Central Commission and assume personal responsibility for them, I want to be certain that every single case has been properly examined. And that is not always the case. One voivodship review commission reviewed 60 people in only three hours!

[Bajer] How do you explain the fact that some review commissions rejected only a few percent of people, and others as much as 80 percent?

[Kozlowski] Certainly there were various reasons behind that. In those areas where the opposition was strong and therefore the work of the SB thorough and intense, the work of the review commissions was more relaxed and they approved a greater number of people. That was the case in Gdansk, for example. On the other hand, in some small voivodships where the opposition was practically unheard of, the review commissions were very harsh. I realize that, but from the point of view of the Central Commission I cannot accept such a disproportion.

[Bajer] Minister, please tell me about the structure of the old ministry. What exactly did the SB do?

[Kozlowski] The first department of the SB was intelligence. The second was counterintelligence. Further departments were engaged in keeping tabs on society, which was lately the responsibility of Colonel Karpacz. There was Department three was responsible for the social "superstructure," in other words keeping an eye on the intelligentsia. At the last moment, this department was renamed the Department for Protecting the Constitutional Order. The fourth department kept tabs on priests; its official name was the Department of Studies and Analyses. The fifth department was responsible for the economy, but in practice it kept an eye on "Solidarity" cells in work places. The sixth department was responsible for farmers. With the dissolution of the SB, all these departments and their counterparts at voivodship level ceased to exist. Apart from that, the ladies who made out passports and the technicians who installed bugging devices, not always knowing why they were doing it and who the target was, all carried SB identity cards. What should we do with these people? Secretaries in passport offices are always needed, and technicians can carry out a host of other useful jobs, and if the prosecutor general agrees, I will be able to avail myself of their services and have bugging devices installed in order to catch the criminal gangs that are sprouting all over Poland and acting with increasing ruthlessness. I will do that.

[Bajer] So the most important sphere in your ministry right now is the police?

[Kozlowski] As soon as I joined the ministry in March, I thought changes to the police would be the most urgent and important thing. I thought the Office for the Protection of the State could be dealt with later. Well, two months later I became chief of this office, and another two months later I became interior minister. Another two months went by.... I am saying all this because my career here signifies a certain acceleration, that illustrious acceleration that began at exactly the same time as I joined the ministry, in the spring. I am not ashamed of this speed. I consider it quite normal.

But getting back to changes in the police, I was able to deal with them straightaway thanks to then-illegal "Solidarity" trade union of militiamen. Even though the personnel review did not involve the Citizens Militia, we fired about 3,000 militiamen for the sake of the service, and there already were several thousand vacancies.

[Bajer] Are the vacancies being filled?

[Kozlowski] They are, slowly but surely. The crisis is compelling people to act.

[Bajer] What has to be done now?

[Kozlowski] A great deal. The police have to be trained, and that involves enormous expense. The police have to be armed, and here there are great shortages. Most of all, the police must acquire social prestige. That is the reason behind all the change.

[Bajer] The first thing to be changed was the name, which subconsciously makes people more partial to the police. Do you see any clear improvement in people's attitudes toward it?

[Kozlowski] Yes, on various occasions, for example in church. People are praying next to policemen more and more often. Sometimes someone tells me that I am trying to turn policemen into angels, but that is not the point. The point is that policemen must no longer live in isolation, cut off from society, or else not much will change. A spectacular police presence among church congregations, at standard-raising ceremonies, and in pilgrimages unites the police with the people. This is needed both by policemen, who were brought up to be hostile to religion and the church,and by society in general, which still remembers a Citizens Militia that persecuted a person for his views and was incapable of offering protection against crimes. This is slowly changing, but regardless of the entire moral and psychological sphere, we must have a police that is quite simply well trained. We have closed down the infamous Academy of Internal Affairs, which was engaged in ideological indoctrination, but what we need is a genuine police officer school and proper schools for the junior ranks, as well as good basic training. By the way, the first group of Polish policemen has just left for France on a five-month training course, after they had completed a three-month course in French. This is also important for purely human reasons. It is possible to derive professional pride from this difficult service.

The situation with equipment is much worse. Enormous amounts of Interior Ministry money were spent on equipment to counteract strikes and demonstrations, and on maintaining ostentatious voivodship headquarters, frequently the largest building in a given city. We are in the process of reducing expenditures on voivodship police headquarters in order to establish regional offices and build local offices, which are falling apart in some places. I tell people about these basic shortages to the point of boredom, but really there is not one single fax machine in the entire police force, and it is difficult to work without one. I have to convince society and parliament that a lot of money is necessary if we are to progress. The average monthly wage in the police right now is 250,000 zlotys, and the dangers in this profession are increasingly greater.

[Bajer] I do not think we all realize that, accusing the police of not exercising enough courage in chasing offenders.

[Kozlowski] The possibilities of the police are very restricted. In the face of new phenomena like well-organized gangs that are well equipped with communications equipment and fast cars, there is not much a policeman can do in an ancient Polonez. Look at the problem of the central railway station. The pickpockets lurking there are not acting on their own, but in an organized gang that is very professional, but nevertheless a ruthless gang quite prepared to throw you underneath a train. Some policemen were afraid of entering the station, and others, unfortunately, merely cautioned the offenders. We defeated them by means of a mass deployment of men, but that does not solve the problem. The gangs carry out robberies on a much bigger scale, and then they use weapons indiscriminately, against themselves and the police.

[Bajer] Are these international gangs?

[Kozlowski] They are usually Polish-Soviet gangs, representatives of both nations cooperate with each other excellently in this sphere.

[Bajer] Where do they get their weapons from?

[Kozlowski] I suppose you mean traditional firearms, just like most people do. And yet gas guns are also weapons, indistinguishable from the real thing, and they can be purchased quite easily. But firearms can be stolen or bought, even from Soviet soldiers. There are quite a lot of such weapons in circulation. And as long as there are no Polish standards governing gas weapons, there is not much we can do, and military factories have just started manufacturing them. There is a danger that certain types of gas weapons can be converted to fire bullets. There are also gases that can cause death unless the victim is quickly revived. All these matters have to be regulated, and we consider this to be one of our most urgent tasks.

[Bajer] Do you think crime will increase in Poland?

[Kozlowski] Right now it is merely settling down at a certain level.

[Bajer] A high level?

[Kozlowski] Well, the high level applies to residential burglaries, theft of property left in cars, all kinds of theft in fact, plus road accidents. We still have much less heavy crime than the European average. In any case we very much need a police force that is well equipped, well trained, and backed by society's support.

[Bajer] Right now it has none of these things.

[Kozlowski] Right now we are facing the following dilemma, for example: Should we arm society by issuing weapon permits widely and liberally, so that civic self-defense would supplement the work of the police? That involves various dangers, for example the danger that a weapon might be stolen. In America, research has shown that armed criminals are afraid that their victims are also armed, so the criminals shoot first.

[Bajer] What alternative do we have?

[Kozlowski] One alternative is local police forces, that is the general term used by the law. It means urban police forces, a presidential force, local government forces, etc. It is necessary to specify their tasks, lay down the extent of their powers, decide whether or not they are to be armed, and so on. Another way out, if we decide that an armed society is not desirable, is to have specialized firms dealing with the protection of people and their property, but these firms would have to be kept under close control. As you can see, we have a multitude of dilemmas, problems, and questions connected with what is commonly called public security. We have to solve them.

[Bajer] Thank you very much.

Socialist Youth Union Holds 6th Special Congress

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[Text] Warsaw, October 14—The Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] held its sixth special congress on October 13-14 in Warsaw.

The delegates spoke in favour of carrying out radical changes in the organizational structures of the union, its rules and regulations and declaration. Piotr Mochnaczewski, 25, was elected the ZSMP National Council chairman. He is to appoint members of the Executive Bureau this Monday (October 15).

The congress decided to stick to the organization's to-date name. It passed a resolution stating that the ZSMP deems itself a left-wing organization, striving to better the situation of young Poles.

It awarded an enthusiastic welcome to leader of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SDRP] Aleksander Kwasniewski who presented the situation of the Polish left wing. He called on ZSMP members to more closely cooperate with the SDRP and to back Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz for president. The congress voted in favour of this candidacy.

Sejm, Senate Committees Briefed on Soviet Trade

LD1710214490 Warsaw PAP in English 1921 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 17—Polish Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation Marcin Swiecicki, addressing the Senate's agricultural committee today, said that price relations in trade with the Soviet Union will be less favourable for Poland after the switch to hard currency settlements and to current world prices.

The unfavourable structure of turnover with the Soviet Union will be the key negative influence. Poland imported large quantities of Soviet oil and natural gas, while there are many signals that we will have difficulties in exporting electro-engineering industry products which until recently comprised almost half of all Poland's exports to the Soviet Union, said the minister, adding that certain prospects for the improvement of this unfavourable situation may be linked with Poland's exports of food to the USSR.

In 1990, we expanded our agricultural and food offer by 268 million dollars in return for next year's deliveries of oil and natural gas. Poland's offer for next year is even broader, said Minister Swiecicki.

Meanwhile, Vice-Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation Dariusz Ledworowski, addressing a meeting of the Sejm Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and Maritime Economy, said that Poland will sign with the Russian, the Ukrainian and Belorussian Republics and with the Soviet Union separate trade and payment agreements for 1991 in the next few weeks.

Ledworowski also said Poland expects to import from the republics and the USSR about 7 billion cubic metres of gas, which is enough to meet Poland's demand. There are also plans to import 8 million tonnes of oil. The levels of imports of cotton and iron ore will be agreed upon after talks with autonomous republics and their respective enterprises. We will continue to hold talks on financial settlements. Poland spoke in favour of various forms of trade- clearings, said Minister Ledworowski.

Slovakia's Meciar on Border, Economic Reforms

AU1710155390 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13-14 Oct 90 pp 1,4

[Interview with Vladimir Meciar, Slovak premier, by Krzysztof Koprowski; place and date not given: "We Have Our Specifically Slovak Factors"]

[Text] [Koprowski] Mr. Premier, what is your assessment of the state of Polish-Slovak relations and their prospects following your talks in Warsaw?

[Meciar] In the past there was more activity in relations between the Czech Republic and Poland than in relations with Slovakia. In recent years, this was also attributable to the very close contacts that existed between "Solidarity" and "Charter 77." That is why the Republic of Slovakia has used this visit to to demonstrate that it is interested in expanding relations and establishing personal contacts.

The talks in Poland were very productive. Our talks with Prime Minister Mazowiecki, Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz, Minister Skubiszewski, and other figures were very valuable. Their views earned our respect. During our talks with Minister Skubiszewski, we discussed the international aspects of our bilateral relations and the problems that exist in neighboring countries. During our talks with Mr. Balcerowicz, we compared and exchanged experiences obtained during the transition to market mechanisms. We also made observations regarding our programs for the upcoming period.

[Koprowski] During the period between the wars, there was a special tourism convention that applied to the entire border between Poland and Slovakia and permitted full freedom of movement across the border. Why is this an issue that is running into so many obstacles today? When there is a market economy on both sides of the Tatra mountains will it be possible to close the border just because there is a danger that goods of a particular kind will be bought up by citizens of a neighboring country?

[Meciar] The situation that has developed on our border in recent years is the result of the unequal political development in our two countries. The totalitarian regime deliberately took various steps to limit contacts. It created barriers between our peoples for political reasons. Under democracy and market mechanisms, these restrictions become an anachronism. However, we have not, unfortunately, introduced these mechanisms yet—we are just at the beginning of the road. If we can protect our trade and consumers in some other way, then these restrictions really will not be necessary. Personally, I think there are ways of getting to know each other better, of fostering good relations and cooperation, and they include visits to Slovakia.

[Koprowski] I would like to ask you the question of Slovak identity, about how you intend to respond to the two trends that appear to be emerging in Europe at the present time: integration in the West and nationalism and separatism in the East. Would you care to comment on what Hungarian President Arpad Goncz said in Bratislava in the summer of last year: "If the Slovaks take two steps away from Prague, they will be taking two steps toward Budapest."

[Meciar] I think that these tendencies toward integration in Europe are not incompatible with an awareness of national identity. Our national awareness is still not complete. A natural form of integration is the product of a natural course of development. When centralism replaced bureaucracy, this disrupted the proper course of development. We have now begun to dismantle this system. On the ruins of that system, we have started to build a new set of relations that will lead to decentralization. It proceeds from federal to republican organs, and from the latter to local organs, including town and township organs and extends to enterprise autonomy.

Our "federal" national republics were never in the same position as, for example, the laender in Germany. The transfer of powers and decentralization will make it possible to develop genuine integration tendencies. However, a condition for this is the creation of local infrastructures and the inclusion of all other important factors.

As far as what President Goncz said, all I can say is what I told him when we spoke in private: "Slovakia does not intend to take two steps away from Prague. However, if circumstances force us to do so, they will be steps toward independence and sovereignty for the Slovak nation, and not toward Budapest." President Goncz subsequently modified his statement and explained to us that Slovak independence could entail changes in relations between Slovaks and Hungarians.

[Koprowski] Which tendency will triumph in Bratislava? Will it be the nationalist tendency represented by the Slovak National Party, which is increasingly gaining in popularity, or will it be the trend that you yourselves describe as Slovaks-Slavs-Europeans?

[Meciar] I do not not believe that the views represented by certain parties or even factions within parties to the effect that the existence of an independent Slovak state is a necessity are of genuine political importance at the present time. A loud voice is not always an important voice in politics.

[Koprowski] At what stage are economic reforms in the republic and in what direction are they heading? Do the reforms possess specifically Slovak features?

[Meciar] The implementation of reform in the CSFR is being worked out within the framework of a general strategy; Slovakia did, of course, participate in drawing up the reforms. The basic directions are worked out by federal organs. However, there are, of course, certain specifically Slovak features. In the case of agriculture, for example, we have to take account of the poorer quality of the soil in mountainous areas as well as being in a worse position regarding equipment and machinery. So, there have to be much clearer structural changes in Slovakia. We also have to stop polluting our environment and solve the problem of insufficient raw materials and energy. The social effect of free market systems are felt more keenly in Slovakia than in the Czech lands, because we have a higher birth rate and fewer opportunities to find employment. We have to take account of all these factors that are peculiar to Slovakia.

Kohl Suggests Treaty Signing 'Next Year'

LD1810102990 Warsaw PAP in English 0909 GMT 18 Oct 90

[By PAP correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Oct. 18—Appearing on French TV last evening, Chancellor Helmut Kohl suggested that a global agreement with Poland should be signed "between January and Easter, say in April, next year."

Recalling that a German-Soviet agreement is being worked out, Kohl added: "It was in our interest to sign an agreement with Poland as soon as possible. But Poles did nothing in this respect."

The chancellor announced that he expected to host Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in November and was going to propose signing an agreement between both countries then. The agreement should relate to political, economic, social and cultural issues. It should also refer to borders.

"Our common frontier should be a border of welfare, a border of regional economic cooperation," Chancellor Kohl stated.

Nastase Interviewed on Jeszenszky's UN Speech

AU1810083790 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9 Oct 90 p 8

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase by unidentified ROMANIA LIBERA correspondent; place and date not given: "Has Budapest's Policy on Ethnic Minority Issues Changed?"]

[Text] [ROMANIA LIBERA] Mr. Minister, you followed the address made by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky in the 3 October plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly. Mr. Jeszenszky dealt in detail with the already familiar theme of national minorities.

[Nastase] About a quarter of his speech, if not more, was devoted to it.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Correct. How do you assess Mr. Jeszenszky's latest speech, compared to the stands already expressed by him and by the Hungarian Government in general?

[Nastase] It appears to be a new attempt to present the same positions and theses in apparently moderate language. What strikes one is the ambiguous wording of that part of the speech devoted to minorities, something which is missing from the rest of the speech, where the ideas are presented clearly and precisely. For instance, there is the idea that the "cornerstone of democracy and of the rule of the law" as well as "the indispensable element of European stability" reside "in tolerance, in recognition of autonomous life, in guarantees for the preservation of the identity and specific features of various national, ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities, and in observance of their individual and collective rights." It is known, however, that democracy alone guarantees equality for all citizens of a country, regardless of ethnic origin, religion, or language. What, then, is one supposed to understand by "recognition of autonomous life"? Whose "autonomy" are we talking about—that of the individual or of the minority itself? If we refer to the individual, then the requirement is superfluous, because his life can only be autonomous. If we refer to minorities, then things change. One can hardly claim that the autonomy claims of various minorities in Eastern Europe can serve the continent's "stability." On the contrary, I believe that such claims can only have a destabilizing effect in this part of the world. Likewise, I again notice a revival of the concept of the "collective rights" of minorities, a concept totally rejected at UN-sponsored international meetings, including the CSCE meeting on the human dimension in Copenhagen last June. The documents adopted by the United Nations and the CSCE only refer, not without justification, to the "rights of persons belonging to minorities" and not to the "rights of minorities" as such. I want to remind you that in Copenhagen, Romania proposed that the meeting should work out a declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, and religious minorities and even presented a draft declaration to this extent. Our goal was to reach generally accepted standards by all CSCE countries, which then can be applied by each country to its own citizens.

In this connection, I cannot overlook another statement by Geza Jeszenszky, where he "welcomes the growing awareness that the rights of national, ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities are an integral part of the acknowledged human rights." In truth, the situation is exactly the opposite. The general international trend is to consider that observance of the universally acknowledged human rights implicitly guarantees the rights of all persons belonging to various minorities, by virtue of the fact that all people enjoy equal rights.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] One can find his assessment that "guaranteeing human and minority rights for the more than 3 million Hungarian minorities living in Hungary's neighboring countries is a basic condition for the harmonious development of interstate relations in Europe" somewhat egocentric. Maybe this idea of conditioning would have been better understood if it had only been limited to Hungary's relations with its neighboring countries.

[Nastase] This is certainly an exaggeration. Moreover, through "conditions" imposed by one of the partners, no harmonious interstate relations have ever been achieved anywhere.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] The Hungarian foreign minister recalls "the rights and obligations" of the international community "to closely monitor the situation of minorities, to prevent the outbreak of potential conflicts, and, in case of violation of their rights, to reestablish the legal protection of minorities and to establish the responsibility of the respective state." What kind of rights and obligations is he referring to?

[Nastase] I believe we are faced here with mere rhetoric and a kind of propagandistic hue. There is no such thing. If we were to take this statement literally, then the first observation to be made is that the notion of "international community" is an abstraction; it cannot be the bearer of rights and obligations. Does he mean—through the term of international community—various institutions such as the United Nations, the CSCE, or the Council of Europe? It is hard to say. What is for sure is that neither the UN Charter, nor the Helsinki Final Act, other CSCE documents, and the Council of Europe statutes confer such rights and obligations on anyone.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Emphasizing the importance attached by Hungary to protect of the rights of the national minorities, the Hungarian minister talked about the establishment of an international mechanism to that end. What is it all about? Is such a mechanism in the offing?

[Nastase] This seems to be a Hungarian proposal or initiative. I said before that, from a legal viewpoint, there are no rights for the minorities as such. Consequently, a mechanism for the protection of such rights would be superfluous. If he means a mechanism designed to defend the rights of persons belonging to the minorities—an aspect of human rights protection—this is something else which can be discussed. We would like to know more details about the meaning of this proposal.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] You mentioned at the beginning that, while resorting to a more moderate language, the Hungarian minister actually relaunched old theses and proposals. You are probably referring to the thesis of the "responsibility" for the Hungarians living outside Hungary's borders.

[Nastase] Yes, but not only that. Let us start with the thesis of "responsibility." We criticized it in the past, proving that it runs counter to international law. Responsibility for a country's citizens can only devolve on the respective country, government, or parliament. Still, Mr. Jeszenszky serenely talks about "our responsibility, in accordance with international law, for the Hungarians living beyond our borders as minorities." This statement is ungrounded and futile. Let us consider another nuance of his statement: He talks about Hungarians living outside Hungary "as minorities." Therefore, if they are not recognized "as minorities." Therefore, if they are not recognized "as minorities"—I suppose this applies to the Hungarian minorities in France, the United States, Great Britain, Latin America, and other places—Hungary has no "responsibility" for their fate. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Jeszenszky's thesis is valid, on what moral grounds does the Budapest government consider itself responsible for the fate of some and not for the fate of others? Are we not dealing with the same human rights in both cases? It is obvious that this approach is politically motivated and has nothing in common with the international law. In support of my previous statement, I would also like to point out the attacks on the Trianon Treaty comprised the latest Hungarian stands, which implicitly amount to an attack against current borders in Europe, in a language which claimed to be "moderate." Here is a sentence from the Hungarian foreign minister's speech: "The tough fortunes of history in the 20th century took no pity on the smaller nations, and the decisions that served the interests of other powers have forced millions of Hungarians to live outside their frontiers as minorities." Well, what do you make of that? On top of which, we are being reminded by our Hungarian colleagues that we keep ignoring official Hungarian statements which mention Hungary's decision to observe the current frontiers in Europe?! What we cannot ignore is the fact that this speech—a quarter of which was devoted to the problem of minorities—failed to mention that Hungary supports the inviolability of frontiers. Are we wrong when we say that, by raising the problem of minorities, the current Hungarian Government is striving to bring up the issue of territorial realities in Europe? I hope we are wrong; unfortunately, everything, including the speech to which we are now referring, proves the contrary.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] The Hungarian foreign minister also spoke about the "very important and urgent task" of working out an international instrument, with obligatory legal prerogatives, for the universal protection of minorities. Is this yet another Hungarian idea or is this something being concretely discussed by some international body?

[Nastase] I am not aware of any such problem being actively examined by any international body. I also believe that we are dealing with a Hungarian suggestion or proposal. I have already said that one cannot talk about "rights of the minorities," at least not from a strictly legal viewpoint. Seen from this angle, the creation of such an instrument would be unfounded. If one were to talk about "the rights of persons belonging to minorities," which is quite plausible, then it would seem that such an instrument might be necessary. The rights of these persons, however, can be protected quite well by the existing instruments for the defense of human rights. Anyway, the suggested idea is rather vague and, to find out whether we are dealing here with a rhetoric idea or a substantial proposal, we need further details about its exact purpose.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Something has to be done in connection with the issue of minorities on the international plane. What do you or the Romanian Government propose to do in this respect?

[Nastase] There is no doubt that something has to be done. I have already mentioned that Romania submitted a draft statement on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, and religious minorities at the CSCE meeting in Copenhagen. That proposal is still topical. We have already made a proposal—it is true, only in a Balkan context, but at the recent CSCE ministerial meeting in New York we suggested that it be extended to the entire area of CSCE member states—on working out a code of behavior for interstate cooperation on questions pertaining to ethnic and national minorities. Our proposal is to adopt generally accepted standards at the European level for the treatment of minorities. Because we are talking here about my Hungarian colleague's UN General Assembly address, I would like to point out here that although he devoted a large part of his speech to the problem of minorities, he only deemed it necessary to devote some three vaguely formulated lines to the Hungarian Government's policy toward the minorities living in Hungary. Of course, one could think of taking the Hungarian treatment of its minorities as the general European standard. You already know that several Romanian parliamentarians and nongovernmental organizations are asking the government to apply to the minorities in Romania an identical treatment to that applied by the Hungarian Government to the minorities in Hungary. We are ready to discuss this within the CSCE. As a matter of fact, as I have already said at the ministerial meeting in New York, we are advocating a meeting of experts in 1991, which should examine the problem of working out such generally accepted standards in Europe.

Defense Minister Comments on Military Relations

LD1710015390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] According to the defense minister in Bucharest, relations between the Romanian and Hungarian Armies have great traditions, and they have always weathered well the deformations which could be experienced in other areas.

Colonel General Stanculescu, made a statement prior to the Hungarian-Romanian defense ministerial meeting scheduled to begin in two days. Stanculescu said that Romania trusts the armed forces of its neighbors, but certain statements proclaiming peaceful intentions will not distract the attention of the Bucharest leadership if one of the region's states was preparing an attack against Romania.

RMDSZ General Secretary on Role of Party

AU1610102590 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Oct 90 p 2

[Interview with Geza Szocs, general secretary of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania (RMDSZ), by Zoltan Abram in Tirgu Mures; date not given: "The RMDSZ Supports Romania's Observer Status in the Council of Europe"; first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Text] Geza Szocs granted Zoltan Abram a short interview in Tirgu Mures a few days ago, following the most recent meeting of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ]. Szocs spoke about the aims of the association, the parliamentary activities of the RMDSZ, and the foreign relations of the association.

[Szocs] It is a fact that the demands and expectations which have been lingering in the air for the last few months have matured into concrete concepts. I think that significant steps have been taken which will enable the creation of a truly efficient and functioning structure for this association in a few weeks' time. The association does not need to feel ashamed of the past because it honestly fulfilled its duties. It may have functioned poorly at times, but it is already incredible that it did not collapse under the enormous weight.

It is our commitment to elaborate a loosely structured, but efficient network to coordinate interests, and the RMDSZ has to take on the management of this network to represent its membership in theory, and not only in fact. The new organizational principles, and the contents of these principles, will guarantee that Hungarians in Romania will be able to live honestly from their work, that they will be able to maintain their inherited identity, and that they will be able to pass on this identity to their descendants.

[Abram] Has the RMDSZ prepared political guidelines which it can use in the Romanian Parliament, which is beginning to function?

[Szocs] Everything is beginning to work, slowly but surely. Our parliamentary group has also recognized the political area in which it can operate. I think that our parliamentary group will honestly live up to the expectations and tasks which face it.

[Abram] The foreign relations of the RMDSZ are developing. What do foreigners know about the RMDSZ, and how do they relate to the association?

[Szocs] I think that Western European parties behaved in a reserved manner with the RMDSZ for a long time; perhaps they did not want to embarrass the National Salvation Front, which boasted such a large majority in the elections, by developing close relations with the RMDSZ, which is the biggest opposition party, and which is founded on a national minority. The Western parties manifested their polite and diplomatic reserve by not making our relations too intense. I think the coming months will also lead to a breakthrough in this area.

[Abram] How do you view the RMDSZ's position at the Council of Europe meeting in Strasbourg?

[Szocs] We chose the only possible and correct way. When we found out that one of us could represent the interests of the RMDSZ and of Hungarians in Romania at the Council of Europe, it turned out that our delegate (Dr. Ferenc Baranyi was chosen for this task) would become the target of accusations and reproaches from every side. That was why we decided to put a catalogue of the RMDSZ's claims together.

In essence, the document states that, under certain conditions and guarantees, we agree that Romania should be given observer status in the Council of Europe, and that the country should join the movement of European integration. This is also in our interest; this is how Hungarians in Romania could join Europe. Furthermore, with this step we can expect national minority tensions to ease, nationalism to lose support, and Hungarians in Romania to keep their identity.

We did not conceal the fact that we see the realization of democracy as a very distant event, but the aim of democratization does not seem unattainable if we base ourselves on the democratization initiatives within Romanian society, and on the well-meaning attention shown by the Western community.

[Abram] Many people wonder whether Hungarians in Romania are going to be used as a means for Romania's integration into Europe.

[Szocs] Such fears are unfounded. If words mean what they say, and if Romania really does become an integral part of Europe, then we can say proudly and with self-esteem that we played a part in that process.

Trade Turnover With Hungary Decreases

AU1710110790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0926 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/10/1990—Mr. Laszlo Konya, commercial adviser of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest, referred to the trade and tourist relations with Romania during a news conference that took place at TIB '90 [Bucharest International Fair] Hungary's pavilion. He said that trade between the two countries has recorded a decrease in turnover from 720 million roubles in 1989 bilateral exchanges to 573 million roubles this year. Mrs. Anna Maria Fiedler, manager of the Hungarian pavilion, added that, according to frequent statements made lately by Hungarian businessmen," giving up the East European market would prove a particularly dangerous step. While neighbouring countries are turning more and more to Western Europe, the most cautious are not neglecting the Eastern market. It is for that reason that many Hungarian enterprises are exhibiting now in Bucharest the products they either make or sell."

This year a number of 19 Hungarian companies are displaying over a 675 square meters area. Some of them have for many years had contacts with Romanian customers. However, this year for the first time, the traditional foreign trade companies have been joined by the Politur Cooperative as an independent company. Experts believe that small cooperatives, due to their mobility, have a bright future. Such opinions are based on the last months' increased commodity exchanges between small economic units.

Report on EEC Decision To Postpone Economic Aid

AU1610155890 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 3 Oct 90 p 1

[Al. Gavrilescu article: "Humanitarian Life Buoy"]

[Text] The recent decision of the Ministerial Council of the EEC from 17-18 September to postpone, for the second time, Romania's inclusion among the countries receiving economic assistance from the Group of 24—a country for which there has been much shedding of tears and sighing on the diplomatic plane—adds itself to the open hostility shown toward a nation, which considers the consistently negative attitudes toward itself as tools of pressure used in flagrant contradiction with the general tone of international collaboration and cooperation. The "democratic deficit" for which the political life in Romania has been incriminated is strangled by the corset of elementary self-sufficiency, thus perpetuating beliefs by means of which the opposition can display—using an international organization for this purpose—its doctrine of power. This coercive verdict tries to accredit the idea that the Romanians are now paying a price set by the constitutional stock exchange manipulated by the West—a constitution always ready to surpass itself when it relates to other parties. For Romania, a country currently going through a hard time, this gesture will have predictable consequences, while her unhappy destiny goes on feeding on the flames of stubborn hope. No matter how much we expected a green light from Brussels, this alone would not have been able to create a homogeneous economy, better paying jobs, and a competitive market and production. Furthermore, the major interests of Western investors systematically exclude Romania; they totally ignore the government's program, which aims at achieving a functional infrastructure in a short period of time. This is the only choice for replacing the further deterioration and negative consequences of a revolutionary system with economic liberalization. The "shock therapy" officially announced in Brasov by Prime Minister Petre Roman has taken the management boards of the three local machine building companies—the Ghimbav Auto Company, the Brasov Auto Company and the "Tractorul" Plant—by surprise. This proves that the effects of hyper-centralization have inhibited the role of technical innovation as a specific requirement of any modern social activity.

The aversion of the Group of 24 to the so-called social-political instability of Romania reminds one of the history of the extremist actions—given all sorts of nicknames by the opposition—which threatened public quietude and peace in order to serve some not too obscure, but very powerful interests, based on the party-bible [allusion to the Iron-Guardist movement]; only Galileo might have been able to elucidate the scandalous ramifications of these actions. If things were really so, the political avarice of the right would not feel the need to poison the climate with scenarios of the trade unions versus the government, nor would it speak of the so-called violation of the universal rights of man. In addition, the "agora" in Bucharest would not be turned into a diplomatic catapult to force a common attitude upon the member countries of the Council of Europe against...our poor little land, for which...we have always fought... since 1948, old boy...and come on, and fight...and come on, and fight...[quotation from playwright Ion Luca Caragiale's play "The Lost Letter"—words of demagogue politician Agamita Dandanache]

The temporary effect of a goodwill gesture from Brussels would only have been to prolong the delusion that Romania could steer toward an economic overdevelopment as a result of huge investments of capital.

We would have lost sight of our low labor productivity and high production costs, that conserving energy and raw material has only yielded partial results, and fact that foreign loans, regardless of their scope, cannot cure the bad state of our industry, which is due to planning and the authoritarian economic system. This being the situation, Romania highways will continue to be crisscrossed by modern cars bearing foreign license plates, loaded with articles for humanitarian aid—thermometers, headache pills, toys, equipments for private printing houses, broadcasting stations, faxes, books, and so forth. All of these are a panacea which perfectly fits the policy of the free world regarding Romania, a country whose right to keep its capital city in Bucharest will probably soon be denied and which might be forced to move it to Videle, in case someone goes on a hunger strike in front of the gentlemen in Brussels. There is just one way out of this reality, skillfully concocted with the generous contribution of an opposition obsessed with the "martyrization" of the Romanian democracy: our own efforts.

The refusal of the community to support Romania is also marred by the belief that the economic security of a country depends entirely on the humanitarian life buoy of a certain financial group, which is a totally erroneous assertion. Let us not delude ourselves. It is going to be tough for us! Our will to make progress, however, will also be equally strong; therefore, we proclaim that we must join hands and quickly rediscover the true richness and strength of this country.

Nastase Comments on Inter-Balkan Relations

AU1710133490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1025 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/10/1990—In my opinion, the conference in Tirana is held in a special moment of the European history which favours inter-Balkan cooperation, stated Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romania's foreign affairs minister, in an interview with daily "LIBERTATEA."

The deep transformations having taken place for a year in Europe, especially in Eastern Europe, had many effects. The relations among European nations, the inter-Balkan ones included, are no longer marked by the ideological disputes which have maintained for over forty years a state of permanent tension not only in Europe but all over the world.

Human rights, the Romanian minister underscored, are changing into a clear sphere of cooperation.

The military competition which after the war fueled the atmosphere of cold war, increasing the threat of a conflict, made the room for negotiations to substantially reduce armaments.

In these conditions pride of place is given to the economic, technical-scientific and cultural cooperation in the interest of all countries.

Like the other European countries, Romania considers that security and cooperation in the region are integrant part of the security and cooperation process in Europe which has greatly developed lately.

The conference in Tirana, Adrian Nastase underscored, has the possibility to bring through its results a concrete contribution to the success of the Paris meeting. The Tirana meeting of the foreign ministers intends to address the Paris summit meeting a message containing the Balkan countries' determination to give an impetus to cooperation and security on the entire continent through their expanded collaboration.

In our opinion, the favourable political premises opened in Europe give the Balkan countries the opportunity to play an active role in speeding up the process of cooperation and security in Europe. Starting from this goal, the Romanian foreign minister showed, Romania proposed that a forum for security and cooperation be set up in the Balkans to improve the relations among countries in the region as part of the CSCE process.

Norwegian Human Rights Commission Official Visits

Roman Receives Human Rights Official

AU1610184090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1652 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/10/1990—Premier Petre Roman kindly asked Mrs. Hillestad Thune representing Norway in the Strasbourg based Commission of Human Rights, whom he granted an interview Tuesday, October 16, to have a fair dialogue with all political forces, with whomever she wants to meet in order to form her own opinion on the way human rights are observed in Romania, and to show things truthfully to other people interested.

During the interview, Mrs. Thune stressed that Romania's image abroad was distorted because of lack of information. A couple of aspects were cleared up concerning the observance of human rights in Romania, especially those referring to the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, women's rights etc.

After the interview, Mrs. Thune told a ROMPRES reporter that was her first visit to Eastern Europe, and, as a member of the Commission of Human Rights based in Strasbourg she wanted to know as much as possible about the way human rights were respected in Romania.

Senate Leader Receives Official

AU1710200690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1934 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/10/1990—Romania's Senate President Alexandru Barladeanu received on Wednesday, October 17, in the morning, Mrs. Gro Hillestad Thune, member of Norway's Barristers Association and of the European Commission of Human Rights of the Council of Europe based in Strasbourg.

The interview centered on problems concerning Romanian human rights laws.

Rolf Trolle Andresen, Norway's newly-assigned ambassador to Bucharest, was received on a presentation call by Alexandru Barladeanu, president of Romania's Senate.

Roman Receives Swedish Humanitarian Aid Envoys

AU1710200790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1936 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/10/1990—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman received Wednesday, October 17, two Swedish experts, Anne Marie Sundbom, ambassador for the relations with non-governmental bodies, and Sven Goran Henriksson, director in the Department for the Development of International Relations, who came to Romania for evaluating the aid necessary in the first phase for improving the condition of handicapped children. The Romanian premier thanked for the aid granted and emphasised that any humanitarian relief would be added to the government's program of assistance of all handicapped children in Romania.

Iliescu Meets U.S. Ambassador Green 16 Oct

AU1610163890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1458 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/10/1990—President Ion Iliescu of Romania met again Mr. Alan Green Jr., ambassador of the USA in Bucharest at the Cotroceni Palace on Tuesday morning.

The interview, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, was an opportunity to exchange further opinions on bilateral relations and on current international issues.

After the interview, Ambassador Green said the meeting had been very friendly, that all questions related to bilateral links in general and the international situation had been approached. He also said the relations between Romania and the USA were getting better.

Vatasecu Meets French Foreign Trade Minister

AU1610194590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1910 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/19/1990—Anton Vatasescu, state minister for industry and trade, had an interview on Tuesday, October 16, with Jean Marie Rauch, France's minister of foreign trade.

The present stage of Romanian-French economic relations was analysed, on the occasion, new domains being identified of future economic cooperation.

Present was Renaud Vignal, France's ambassador in Bucharest.

Iliescu Meets French Constitutional Council Head

AU1710212190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1933 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/10/1990—Romania's President Ion Iliescu met on October 17 with Robert Badinter, president of the Constitutional Council of France.

Renaud Vignal, France's ambassador in Bucharest, was present.

The talk covered problems related to the evolution of the democratic process in Romania a salient feature of which is the drafting of the new constitution by the Parliament resulted from the first free elections of May 20.

The guest presented the experience of the body he leads.

Premier Roman Receives Italian Manufacturers

AU1610183990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1647 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/10/1990—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman received Tuesday, October 16, a group of Italian manufacturers, on a visit to Romania to seek ways of cooperation in metallurgy, paper industry, food industry and banking.

Romania's premier pointed out that Romania was open to developing economic and trade relations with all interested foreign firms, stressing that the fields concerned were very important for the Romanian economy that needs modern, high productivity technologies.

The Italian manufacturers were invited to visit units of interest in Romania.

Ministry Assures Emigres Are 'Welcome' To Return

AU1710201490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1938 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/10/1990—Romania's Ministry of the Interior gives assurances to all the Romanian emigres that, upon their return to their homecountry, they will be indiscriminately restored to all the rights and freedoms granted and observed in a state of law, irrespective of their political convictions, states a press release of the Ministry of the Interior of Romania.

Given the reserve and concerns expressed by some of the Romanian exiles, through the agency of mass media in their countries of adoption, about the consequences they might bear from the Romanian state authorities upon their return home, the press release specifies that, no matter what reasons compelled them to emigrate, or the circumstances under which they left the country, the Romanians living now abroad who either wish to be repatriated or face expulsion will encounter no difficulties on home-coming, there being, practically, no reason for fear.

This position of the Romanian authorities is in keeping with the agreements, to which Romania is a signatory party, regarding the free circulation of persons and information, the right of every citizen to return to his/her native-country.

It is obvious that all the Romanian emigres are welcome to their country of origin, being also implied that, once back home, they will observe the laws of a constitutional state and will abstain from violent, chauvinistic, xenophobe, racist or any other similar manifestations, writes the press release of the Ministry of the Interior.

Senate Postpones Talks on Foreign Investments Bill

AU1710194990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1854 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/10/1990—Opening the Senate session on Wednesday, October 17, a few senators posed questions to the government concerning the stepping-up of the reform for the passage to the market economy, urgent measures to hurry up season agricultural works, immediate measures to be taken for the people injured in the revolution to be treated in hospitals abroad, the spare parts supply of the vehicles of all state-run units, law provisions to be applied as regarded war veterans' rights. The government was also asked to keep its promise of submitting the ministers' organization diagram.

Debates were resumed on the commercial companies bill. The much debated Article 215 was passed after the adoption of an amendment proposed by the governmental representative. Debates were barred by an amendment proposed by the Hungarian Democratic Union (MDUR) [UDMR], equally supported by the Romanian Liberal Party, concerning the rescinding of Article 216 stipulating in the first paragraph "The Romanian Agency for Capital Import is set up, subordinated to the government, in view of the participation of foreign capital in commercial companies set up in Romania." The MDUR proposed the following amendment: "It is proposed that Article 216 be rescinded considering that it stipulates an administrative measure related to a governmental organization structure alien to the juridical notion of commercial companies. The article is tributary by its contents to centralism and government orientation of foreign capital, affecting the liberal character of the action of economic agents both on the home market and in international relations. The economic, financial, hard currency and fiscal problems can fall, as they have done so far, within the competence of a special office in the Ministry of Finance."

Continuing the Senate session, President Alexandru Barladeanu stressed inter alia in his address that the foreign capital needed by the Romanian economy should be attracted through the creation of a clear legal framework that should encourage investors, the guaranteeing of profits being apt to ensure the success of any business. He also mentioned that the society's interest required that conditions be provided for the operation of the capital import agency. It was agreed that the wording of Article 216 should be analyzed again in the Senate's economic commission. The debates will continue next week.

Report on Deputies' Assembly 17 Oct Session

AU1710183890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1740 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/10/1990—The Assembly of Deputies resumed its session Wednesday, 17 October, in the afternoon, with 305 members present.

Before dealing with the agenda, Speaker Dan Martian informed the Assembly that the government had submitted to Parliament for examination and approval, another three bills: on arbitration of labour conflicts, on the structure and activities of the government, on the structures and activities of ministries.

The deputies were informed of the resignation of Mr. Corneliu Dan Zaharia, representing the NSF [National Salvation Front—FSN], and Mrs. Doina Elena Noghin, representing the Ecological Movement, of their parliamentary seats. By vote, their resignations were approved.

Entering the agenda, the deputies picked up the debates, item by item, on the bill on unemployment benefits and the professional reorientation of the unemployed, the first nine items of which had been passed during the previous session. The bill ensures social protection for the labour force through a package of measures meant to provide means of subsistence to persons temporarily unemployed but capable to work. For most of the items under debates, among the speakers that came to the stand were Minister of Labour and Social Protection Catalin Zamfir, members of the standing commissions that okayed the bill, members of all the parliamentary groups. By the end of the session, the first two chapters were passed.

FSN National Convention Preparations Reported

AU1610155290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1250 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/10/1990—On Monday, the NSF [National Salvation Front—FSN] commission for preparation of the national convention (to be held on December 7 and 8) met in working session, in the presence of NSF political leader Petre Roman.

The commission, headed by Mr. Claudiu Iordache, NSF first deputy chairman, comprises the same team of politicians who compiled NSF preelection documents.

The session finalized and adopted a number of major initiatives of the commission. Thus, the setting up of a central court for disputes and ethics was decided, consisting of three senators, three deputies and three members appointed by the Steering Collegium of the Front, who will see that the principles of moral rectitude underlying NSF membership and activity are consistently applied. Aspects about the election of NSF executives at all levels were also discussed. The commission also adopted the regulations of such elections that will be held from October 22 to November 25. The NSF Steering Collegium will soon address the whole electorate that voted in its favour in the May 20 elections in a number of letters on the present and long term problems facing our society.

Against the background of NSF's concerns under public debates, options will also be made regarding the name of that social democratic political movement, to be finally decided upon by the December national convention.

The same session made decisions about setting up NSF speciality commissions and about scholarships to be granted by the Front for students of the Faculty of High Political Studies, etc.

New National Peasant Party Founded, Registered

AU1610183890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1649 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/10/1990—Tuesday 16 October, a new party was founded and duly registered in Romania: The National Peasant Party (PNT). "Following the historic event of the PNT's re-emergence onto the Romanian political arena, its Steering Committee is hereby calling on all the political parties that carry on the political concepts of the National Peasant Party to close their ranks under the real name of the party, as it is known at home and abroad."

Government Releases, Appoints Officials

AU1710212490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1943 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/10/1990—Based on analysis of the current stage of the transition to the market economy, the undoing of the supercentralized economic structures and the speeding up of the economic reform, Romania's Government has decided the dismissal from important government offices of some state secretaries, state undersecretaries, directors and advisers, as well as secretaries-general of the government, and the appointment of other persons to the respective offices, shows a government release.

The following were dismissed: Aurel Antoniu, Ion Moldovan, Costica Leu, Vintila Rotaru, Dumitru Antonescu, Mihai Arghir, state secretaries in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Victor Murea, state secretary in the Ministry of Resources and Industry, Ioan Rimbu, state secretary in the Department of Timber Industry, Nicolae Vacaroiu, state secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Alexandru Dobre, state secretary in the Ministry of Public Works, Hans Otto Stamp, state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Science, Emil Spirea, state undersecretary in the Ministry of Public Works, Alexandru Pavliciosu, state undersecretary in the same ministry, Sever Georgescu and Ion Columbeanu, secretaries-general of the government, and Costica Badescu, director in the local state administration.

The following were appointed: Sorin Cristea, state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction, Misu Negritoiu, state secretary in the Romanian Agency for the Promotion of Investments, Ioan Busu, Petre Placinta, state secretaries in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Marian Nitu, undersecretary in the same ministry, Valentin Gabriel Mirescu and Traian Basescu, state undersecretaries in the Ministry of Public Works, Nikolaus Kleininger, state undersecretary in the Ministry of Education and Science, Mircea Cosea, director-general of the National Commission of Economic Forecast and Conjuncture, and Nicolae Olteanu, secretary-general of the government.

The government requested the prefects and the mayor-general of the capital to urgently endorse similar steps conducive to the removal of all persons who cannot get integrated, irrespective of reasons, in the drive for the speeded up implementation of the reform program, as well as to the simplification of the organizational structures.

Campeanu Notes Delay in Applying Economic Reforms

AU1710133190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1111 GMT 17 oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/10/990—Appreciating the government's programme as eighty percent liberal, Mr. Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party and vice-president of Romania's Senate, noted in an interview for "TINERETUL LIBER" a certain delay in applying the economic reforms.

Referring further to Law 15 on the setting up of state units, he considers that thirty percent of the enterprises' patrimony due to be given to the population is very small and that "at least fifty percent should have been taken into consideration." Mr. Campeanu also noted that, because commercial units and autonomous companies would be forced to act in keeping with the market laws, it would be a mistake to be managed by state officers "who act in keeping with the ministries' dispositions and not with the market laws."

In connection with the government's proposal to set up an agency for foreign investment control, the National Liberal Party president appreciates that "it is a fundamental economic error to check capital circulation," because when "one wants to attract capital one should not put obstacles from the beginning."

Admitting that "anyone who would have governed in Romania in present conditions would have been faced with the same difficult problems," the collocutor specified that had the National Liberal Party governed the country, it would have been concerned with private property first and foremost.

In connection with the questions in industry, Mr. Radu Campeanu showed that "we would have initiated a simple law to guarantee each individual's freedom of initiative" and "we would have proposed an unemployment law."

Concerning the foreign capital's participation in the recovery of the Romanian economy, the National Liberal Party president opined that "Western openness toward Romania is still cautious," but everybody should understand that "privatization is not only a necessity of the economy but also an aggregate of laws entailing the Western countries' collaboration."

Fixed Customs Storage Taxes To Be Established

AU1710195290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/10/1990—The Romanian Government passed a decision for the establishment of a fixed storage tax on goods withheld by customs authorities upon entry to Romania.

According to the decision, the goods belonging to natural or juristic persons other than those authorised to operate in foreign trade businesses, and which do not meet the legal import requirements, are held in custody by customs authorities for retrieval by owner(s) within 48 hours (perishables and live stock) or 30 days (other items). Customs storage procedure of export goods that fail to comply with legal requirements is hereby abolished. Owners of such goods are invited to handle the situation by personal means.

A fixed 100 lei per day storage tax is thereby decided for each item kept in customs custody upon entry to Romania. The tax is to be levied with commencement from the 7th day in custody.

Fixed storage tax is not to be levied on items withheld by customs authorities for evaluation and taxation. When custody term is overdue or the goods are given up by formal statement made to customs authorities, owners are exempted from storage tax, once the goods are state property.

Projects Planned To Ease Students' Situation

AU1710134090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1154 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/10/1990—The Ministry of Education and Science gave ROMPRES a few details about the first emergency projects to be achieved in the school network.

Building of new accommodation capacities for students of the Veterinary Medicine and Technological Building Equipment Faculties, as well as of research space to study the effect of the wind on buildings and sports halls for the Academy for Economic Studies, the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy and the Polytechnic Institute will be started in Bucharest. The Grigore Antipa Museum is also going to be extended.

To complete such projects we need a total investment of 530 million lei.

Furthermore, feasibility studies are under way to build more classrooms for the Institute of Drama and Film and to expand the Central University Library.

New Foreign News Daily Published, Distributed

AU1710212290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/10/1990—The first issue of the new publication "JURNAL INTERNATIONAL" ["INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL"] has been put out in Bucharest on October 17 in the evening. It is the first Romanian daily devoted to international life, which is meant, as its director, known publicist Ion Carje says, to answer the Romanian public opinion's great interest in the world, in the evolution of the international events. The daily will cultivate, the director says, an objective information, a serious and decent approach to international events and will be open to Romanian and foreign contributors.

Arresting the attention in the eight pages are especially the front paged message of success addressed to the daily by the UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, the interviews and commentaries on the fate of ideologies, the major events in Europe, as well as the exclusives of the special envoys to the Gulf.

Further on Former Securitate Chief Vlad's Trial

AU1710194590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1801 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/10/1990—The trial of reserve General Iulian Vlad, former chief of the State Security Department, who stands charges of abetting genocide, continued on October 17 at the Supreme Court of Justice, Military Section, with the hearing of more witnesses for the prosecution and for the defence. Of the 15 subpoenaed witnesses only six were present, which shows a certain lack of firmness on the part of the court. Among the witnesses who reported to the court were Alexandru Tencu, former Securitate officer, Morariu Patru, former deputy chief of the Penal Investigation Department of the Securitate, Victoria Pristavu, shorthand writer with the former CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party—PCR].

The former two highlighted that General Vlad, although conspicuously upset by the confrontation with Ceausescu at the December 17 meeting of the Executive

Political Committee did not issue any order to the chiefs of departments of the Ministry of the Interior for the reprisal of the demonstrations. On the contrary, he congratulated General Ghita, commander of the Securitate troops, for not having fired in Timisoara and for not having used tear gas against demonstrators. Over December 17-22, Morariu Patru said, I did not receive any order of reprisal from General Vlad. On the contrary, on December 17, I was ordered by him to gradually set free all the persons that were under arrest. The witness also said that also after the helicopter had taken off the CC headquarters, General Vlad ordered him that the population should by no means be fired at. He stressed that with the arrival of General Vlad at the head of the department fundamental changes had occurred in the activity of the Securitate bodies, to the end of strict observance of law. Nobody had been arrested any longer except for very serious offences like treason and espionage and nobody had been sued in court any longer for political reasons.

The statement of Victoria Pristavu who made the shorthand record of the December 17 teleconference, was not relevant for the prosecution. She confirmed that the shorthand record generally accorded with reality, although it had been "stylistically improved" (just like the shorthand record of the December 17 Executive Political Committee meeting).

The other witnesses as well, some of whom had been on the guard department who had ensured the guard of the CC headquarters, said that General Vlad's stand was not to obey by the order to fire at the population.

The hearings will continue on Thursday morning.

Stanculescu: Undermining Army Cannot Be Tolerated

AU1610194790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1904 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/10/1990—As many as 299 articles about the Army were published in the Romanian press in the last month, 176 of which contained slandering assertions about the Army and military cadres, stated Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defence of Romania, in a news conference on October 16.

Assessing that some of those articles were not written after direct documentation in the Army, but after rumors, the minister asked the journalists to more often get in touch with Army officials, assuring them that he would monthly deliver a news conference.

Referring to some statements coming from the Army, the minister said there was no intention to take punitive steps whenever Army representatives state their opinion, but actions pursuing to undermine the Army could not be accepted. "We do not want to get involved in provocative actions regarding the Army, that can be correlated with other ones pursuing the undermining of the national economy and the destabilization of political life which has taken a conspicuously democratic course," the minister said, reviewing the steps taken in the Army after the revolution and showing that eleven percent of the military cadres' requests could not be granted as they were incompatible with the military laws and regulations.

In concluding, Victor Stanculescu presented his stand on a possible dialogue with the so-called "Gama" grouping from outside the Army. We are ready for dialogue, if its representatives want to state their nominal presence and set forth their real issues, the minister concluded.

Promotions To Be Given to World War II Veterans

AU1710194690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1820 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/10/1990—By ordinance of the Romanian Ministry of National Defence, officers, logistic personnel, lower ranks and privates in reserve who fought in the World War Two, will be promoted to the next higher rank on the occasion of the Romanian Army Day, 25 October.

The Romanian Government has issued a decision for railway and bus free travel or low tariff vouchers to be granted to war invalids and veterans, to December 89 revolution invalids, to war and revolution widows.

Assembly, Presidency Remain Tense; Await Jovic

Croats Demand Mesic Join Presidency

LD1710112290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Summary] The Croatian delegation today announced that it will not take part in the work of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces until Stipe Mesic is proclaimed a member of the Yugoslav Presidency. TANJUG reports that the delegation announced this decision this morning.

According to standing orders, the proclamation of Federal Presidency members is carried out during a joint session of both chambers convened by the Assembly president. This session has been convened for 19 October. As reported by TANJUG, this demand by the Croat delegation is being discussed this very moment by the most senior officials of the Yugoslav Assembly and the Federal Executive Council.

Presidency Discusses Assembly Deadlock

AU1710124090 Ljubljana Radio Slovene Network in Slovene 1200 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Before the afternoon session of the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly, at which Borisav Jovic should speak on the political security situation and the possible ways for resolving the constitutional crisis, the delegates of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces should have met this morning. The session should have started at 1000, but the delegates have not yet met as of the time of this report.

At a working session of the delegations' chairmen and the working bodies of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces this morning, the delegates from Croatia repeated their demands which were presented yesterday. They said that the president of the SFRY Presidency may address the SFRY Assembly only after both chambers have proclaimed Stipe Mesic as the new member of Croatia in the collective state leadership.

It is known that the joint session of the Assembly chambers will be convened on Friday [19 October] for this purpose. The Croatian delegates have therefore demanded that the joint session should be held today, before Jovic's speech, or that the president of the Presidency should speak on Friday after the new Presidency member from Croatia is inaugurated.

The chairmen of the delegations parted without any agreement, and the chamber session has not yet opened. The Croatian delegation stresses that unless the Assembly timetable is changed, it will not participate in the adoption of the provisional measures which include the adjustments to the federal budget.

Our correspondent Bojan Veselinovic reports that it has been learned in Belgrade that the SFRY Presidency again met in Belgrade today because of the situation that has newly arisen in the Federal Assembly.

Among unofficial reports circulating among Assembly delegates, the possibility is mentioned that Borisav Jovic may not speak at all in the Assembly today.

Legal Basis Sought To Oppose Mesic

AU1710123490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] It is still uncertain in the SFRY Assembly when the session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces will begin. The session was scheduled for 1000. Olivija Rusovac is on the line:

[Rusovac, in progress] ...which would enable the plan for the Assembly's three-day session to go ahead.

This morning the delegates of the Croatian Assembly demanded that Stipe Mesic first be inaugurated as a member of the SFRY Presidency. Only then would the Croatian delegation agree to discuss the agenda for the session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. The first point on the agenda is the speech by President Jovic. Croatian delegates are afraid that the inauguration of Stipe Mesic could be boycotted considering the statements of disapproval of Stipe Mesic's choice made earlier in some republican and provincial assemblies.

Currently some legal bases are also being sought to prevent the inauguration of a member of the SFRY Presidency from Croatia. The Vojvodina delegation demanded that a copy be made of Article 91 of the Law on State Administration which was adopted with the first package of measures by the Federal Executive Council. According to this article, a person convicted for opposing the socialist system cannot work in the state administration.

So, the two points of the agenda—the speech by President Jovic on resolving the constitutional crisis and the political security situation, and the inauguration of a member of the SFRY Presidency—have become closely interrelated, and if the link between the two were to break, this could lead to a situation in the Assembly similar to what we saw at the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Croat Official on Assembly Walkout

LD1710164690 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Remarks by Croatian Assembly President Zarkmo Domljan as reported by Klara Kovacic at the Croatian Council of the European Movement in Zagreb on 17 October]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] We want a confederal community based on real interests, with the right to sovereignty and legal entity vested in each of its members. We want to establish a small confederation along the pattern of the European one, with similar rules and similar institutions.

Dr. Zarko Domljan, president of the Croatian republican Assembly, said this today at the Croatian Council of the European Movement in Zagreb. Klara Kovacic reports:

[Kovacic] He described this day as a critical day for our unity, while thinking of the course and the destiny of the session in the Yugoslav Assembly. I say this, Mr. Domjan said, because some time ago the Yugoslav Presidency asked Croatia and Slovenia to work out a confederal model of a multinational community so that it can present it to the Assembly. We fulfilled this request, presented this model on time to the Yugoslav Presidency, and today the Yugoslav Presidency is not putting it before the Assembly: it is presenting exclusively the other model, that is, the model of a federation with elements of strong centralization totally rescinding the 1974 Constitution.

We agreed this morning with the Croatian delegates in the Federal Chamber of Yugoslavia Assembly: If what was announced last night were to take place, if the Yugoslav Presidency presents such a model, the Croatian delegates will leave the Assembly. In agreement with Dr. Bucar, the Slovene delegates should do the same. In this way the work of the Yugoslav Assembly will be completely blocked. What remains for Croatia and Slovenia to do is to seek their own way into Europe, Dr. Zarko Domljan, president of the Assembly of the Croatian Republic, said when speaking on the platform of the Croatian Council of the European Movement. [passage omitted]

Drnovsek Suggests Jovic Speak 19 Oct

AU1710152490 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Interview with Janez Drnovsek, member of the SFRY Presidency, by Dare Milic in Ljubljana on 17 October—live or recorded]

[Text] The SFRY Presidency has met in Belgrade. Janez Drnovsek, Slovene representative, did not attend the session. He is in Ljubljana today. Dare Milic has invited him to the microphone:

[Milic] Dr. Drnovsek, the SFRY Presidency has concluded today's session. You were in touch by telephone from Ljubljana. What information came from the Presidency?

[Drnovsek] I think that I worked by telephone today, I may say, being in contact with Belgrade, Ljubljana, Zagreb. I myself made a proposal to Presidency President Jovic that today's session of the Federal Assembly be postponed until Friday, and that before his speech on that occasion, the Federal Assembly should confirm Stipe Mesic as a new member of the Presidency. In this way, in my opinion, a solution may be found for the present deadlock, because both the Croatian and the Slovene delegates say that they will not attend today's session of the Federal Assembly if it confines itself to Jovic's speech and does not inaugurate Stipe Mesic as a new Presidency member.

[Milic] If Jovic makes his speech on Friday, it means more possibilities for a denouement of the situation in Yugoslavia, don't you think?

[Drnovsek] This is a the basis for a (?private) compromise, so that the delegates would listen to Jovic's speech—it is another question whether or not they would agree with it—and at the same time resolve the question of Mesic's appointment; in this way somehow resolving the crisis in the Presidency, if I may say so. If not, if I may say so, a crisis in the assembly threatens, because the assembly will not find a common language or it will split completely, and at the same time a crisis in the federal Presidency also threatens.

At the moment, negotiations are still under way and I am intensively participating in them. At the moment, the next move is up to assembly itself, the Assembly Presidium, which must make a decision, because, I may say, the forces are divided in the Presidency. My proposal was also this time supported by the representatives of Macedonian, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Kosovo.

Mejak Claims No 'Grounds' To Hear Jovic

LD1710182990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1803 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—Miran Mejak, president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, told the delegates of this Assembly chamber this evening that there are as of yet no "grounds" for hearing the report of Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency.

The session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces should begin at 1000 [0900 GMT] tomorrow, with a discussion on other points of the agenda. An agreement needs to be reached between the heads of republican and provincial delegations as to when President Jovic could submit his report.

Croat Delegates Walk Out of Meeting

LD1710184490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1811 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—Croatian delegates walked out of a working meeting in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces this evening when President Miran Mejak announced that Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, was in the Assembly, and that he was expected to speak in the Federal Chamber at any moment. This has caused a further Assembly and constitutional crisis.

The Croatian delegates had decided beforehand that they would not take part in the discussion unless the election of Stipe Mesic as member of the SFRY Presidency was confirmed.

Assembly Session Opens; Jovic Present

LD1710184190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1815 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—Just after 1800 [1700 GMT] today, the session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly began, at which the possibilities for finding a way out of the impasse in which Yugoslavia finds itself are being examined.

The group of delegates from Croatia reiterated their demand for a joint session to be held before the address by State President Dr. Borisav Jovic to confirm the election of Stipe Mesic as a member of the SFRY Presidency. This proposal of the Croatian delegates was also supported by the delegates from Slovenia, who proposed that the election of Mesic, and Jovic's address should take place at the Friday, 19 October, session.

The Federal Chamber session is attended by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic, and SFRY Presidency members Bogic Bogicevic, Nenad Bucin, Riza Sapundziju and Dragutin Zelenovic.

Adjournment, Time of Speech Debated

AU1710200490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1829 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Djordje Vlajic report from the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Excerpt] [Vlajic] At the session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber the votes are being counted at this very moment. Namely, the delegates should decide whether they will hold a session on Friday [19 October] at which they will discuss the political-security situation and the way to overcome the constitutional crisis. SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic should present his expose before that debate. Also on Friday, before that session is held, both Assembly chambers should hold a joint session at which Stjepan Mesic should be proclaimed member of the SFRY Presidency. This is one proposal. As far I can see the number of raised hands from here, it seems that...[changes thought] Let us try to hear what number of votes this proposal has received. It seems to me that a majority of delegates have voted in favor of it. [noise from the hall and voice calling for the vote to be repeated] This is also typical for the work of the Federal Chamber.

It seems that the vote will be repeated. In any case, [voice heard from the hall asking the members of the press to move a little] the other proposal, contrary to this one, is that—since President Jovic has lifted the embargo on his speech, which was then submitted to the Assembly, and said that it can be assumed that the Presidency has fulfilled its obligation toward the Federal Chamber after doing today what the Chamber had demanded of it —one should not discuss the Presidency's expose (?or expect it), but simply adopt the agenda and continue the work. These are the two proposals and the decision on them is being made at the moment.

However, in the meantime, before the counting of votes has begun, Borislav Jovic came to the rostrum again and said that the SFRY Presidency will hold a session and discuss any assembly decision —therefore, the decision of this chamber, too. If the Federal Chamber decides today to ask the Presidency that its president speak on Friday, that would mean that the Presidency would probably meet tomorrow. Then it would decide whether to accept this obligation and the president would address the delegates at the joint session under the condition that that session be held after the formal inauguration of Stjepan Mesic as member of the Presidency. This is the whole story.

It seems at this moment that the first proposal, that is, that the debate on the political-security situation and the way to overcome the constitutional crisis should be adjourned until Friday, is receiving a larger number of votes. One can therefore assume that the Federal Chamber will submit a demand to the SFRY Presidency which would be formulated as I have just said.

[Unidentified announcer] I suggest that we wait a second, because it is obvious that the results will be known soon, so that I am able to inform our listeners about it.

[Vlajic] I have to admit that Aleksandar Vujin, secretary of the Federal Chamber, does not have it easy at all. The hall is full of press photographers and delegates seem to be mixed up with members of the Federal Executive Council, that is, some delegates are sitting on the benches designated for members of the Federal Executive Council, so it is very difficult to count the raised hands exactly. However, I think that Bogdana Glumac-Levakov will tell us now:

[Glumac-Levakov] The proposal has been adopted that the first two items should be included in the agenda and that they should be discussed on Friday following the proclamation. [passage omitted]

Mesic To Be Named, Jovic To Speak 19 Oct

LD1710192490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1905 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber decided this evening that the SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic will present a report on how to resolve the constitutional crisis and on the political and security situation in the country on Friday, 19 October. Before then, at a joint session of both chambers of the SFRY Assembly, Stjepan Mesic will be proclaimed a new member of the SFRY Presidency from Croatia.

Taking part in the discussion, SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic said that the Presidency will give consideration to any decision to be made by the Assembly delegates about when the Assembly will discuss the political and security situation in the country, and the Presidency will then inform the SFRY Assembly about the agreement reached.

TANJUG Releases Planned Jovic Speech

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[Suspected text of address to be delivered by Presidency President Borisav Jovic to the Federal Assembly on 19 October]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—At the end of May this year, the SFRY Presidency informed this Assembly and the Yugoslav public about its assessment of the political and security situation in the country. We emphasized then that the negative trends—particularly the intra-national and intra-republican confrontations and national homogenizations, and the dismantling of the relations and institutions established by the SFRY Constitution in the federation—had assumed worrying proportions, and seriously jeopardized the first encouraging signs in the implementation of the economic reform and the country's integrity and security, as well as Yugoslavia's international position and reputation in the world—it is said at the beginning of a report by President of the SFRY Presidency Borisav Jovic on the political and security situation in the country, submitted today to the delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly.

The SFRY Presidency pointed out the need to take immediate measures, not only to stop the negative trends, but to introduce democratic processes, as well—that is, to help the political and social reform proceed unhindered. To this effect we spoke in favor of a timely implementation of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution as the indispensable prerequisite for the implementation of the economic reform along market lines, and for changes to the political system that would facilitate a multiparty system and free elections—something that had already been accepted by consensus in the country. Bearing in mind that those changes were not sufficient to provide a lasting solution to the crisis, the SFRY Presidency agreed to hold talks with the leaderships of the republics and autonomous provinces so as to create a positive political climate for solving the open questions of the country's future system more quickly.

To facilitate the successful implementation of this process, the SFRY Presidency demanded the strict enforcement of and respect for the SFRY Constitution and federal legislation, and the prevention and removal of all cases of breaching or disregarding them in an arbitrary and one-sided way. It was then particularly underlined that it is unacceptable within the Yugoslav community to change the constitutionally endorsed relations outside constitutionally endorsed procedures. Each and every self-traced way of changing the constitutionally endorsed relationships inevitably jeopardizes the rights of others. This fact has recently been ignored in certain republics.

Unfortunately, in many environments the practice of disregarding the SFRY Constitution and legislation continues, as other regulations in contravention of them are being passed, and new hotbeds of political tension are being created, that have seriously raised the threat of constitutional, legal, and political chaos. In addition, the existing political system can hardly counter such occurences with the protective mechanisms at its disposal, as they are extremely complicated and ineffective, thus seriously threatening to slow down the already initiated democratization of social relations and the implementation of the program of reforms, bringing about an even more severe political crisis.

Unfortunately, the curbing of this unconstitutional conduct was not helped by the SFRY Presidency's political initiative, whose principal aim was to consider—together with the republican and provincial leaderships—the causes of the problems, and draw up proposals for resolving the crucial issues of the country's future.

The intention of this initiative was to create the necessary social climate whereby the solution of open issues in the future constitutional organization of the country could get under way as soon as possible, in an organized, rational, and democratic manner. The SFRY Presidency has consistently observed and will continue to observe these decisions, because it proceeds from the fact that this is the only possible rational approach in our multinational community.

Certain republics and autonomous provinces have not acted according to the recommendations of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly that they should, on the basis of the findings of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, adjust their constitutional solutions to the SFRY Constitution. With constitutional changes contravening the SFRY Constitition; various declarations and resolutions; and legal and other solutions and decisions, the jointly established relations of equality in the Yugoslav Federation are continuing to be unilaterally altered, and in this way the unacceptable and unconstitutional practice goes on.

The efforts of the SFRY Presidency to prevent such actions were not respected: moreover, they were ignored and rejected. The Federal Executive Council and federal administrative organs have not in all instances succeeded in ensuring the consistent implementation of the federal laws. Nor has it been possible to achieve a more efficient process of decisionmaking in the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia. In addition, many other demands which the SFRY Presidency, made of the responsible bodies and organs in May of this year in the Yugoslav Assembly, and in its conclusions in connection with current events, have largely remained without effect.

The Assemblies of some republics even failed to give consent to the minimum necessary amendments to the SFRY Constitution which would have ensured the consolidation of the economic reform and the holding of multiparty elections in republics and in the federation. This seriously jeopardizes the further implementation of the economic reform, and prevents democratic multiparty elections for the Federal Chamber from taking place by the end of the year. In this way the functioning of the highest body in the country is being called into question, considering that the mandate of this situation can be reflected at the international level, especially on Yugoslavia's position in Europe and in international financial institutions. Such an attitude towards solving the joint questions threatens to impose a complete blockade on the functioning of the political system, which is nothing else but a method of realizing partial interests in the process of destroying Yugoslavia quietly.

On the basis of its constitutional responsibility in these circumstances—and for the purpose of overcoming great difficulties and stagnation in solving the key issues of Yugoslavia's future—the SFRY Presidency conducted the announced political initiative for solving the constitutional crisis. The Presidency conducted political talks with the leaderships of all republics and autonomous provinces, except Kosovo and Metohija, on which the SFRY Assembly was briefed in a separate report. Direct meetings and talks were also held between some republican leaderships, which the SFRY Presidency also recommended in its initiative.

Bearing all this in mind, the SFRY Presidency has adopted a resolute stand, whereby the existing constitution and the constitutional-legal system of the country must be consistently respected and applied, until they are altered in a democratic and legal way.

Proceeding from such an assessment—after the talks conducted with the leaderships of republics and autonomous provinces—the SFRY Presidency took the necessary steps leading to a political denouement and decisions to completely clarify the position and intentions put forward during the talks, and to ensure the democratic confrontation of the proposed options. A concept was prepared of a new constitutional system in a future federative Yugoslavia, as well as a concept of a confederal agreement between its present republics. Both concepts were submitted to the SFRY Assembly today. The delegates of the SFRY Assembly, as well as the Yugoslav public, can see in them the kind of crossroads at which Yugoslavia is standing today, and how we should decide the vital issues.

The SFRY Presidency—in cooperation with the republican and provincial presidencies—also prepared a program of activities for the implementation of changes to the constitutional relations in the SFRY for the purpose of resolving the constitutional crisis, which has recently been submitted to you. The program initiates activities and measures which ought to be implemented by the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, and all republics on the basis of joint responsibility for the fate and future of Yugoslav nations and nationalities. The envisaged activities would be realized in stages, and the program will be adapted depending on the further development of the situation; it therefore has an orientational and informative character.

The aim of these talks was to start a dialogue as soon as possible and create a positive political climate, thus helping the SFRY Assembly and other organs in authority to bring their views into line and devise solutions to the open and disputable questions of the future arrangement of the Yugoslav state community.

The SFRY Presidency has assessed that the talks it held with the leaderships of the republics and autonomous provinces were very fruitful, as they provided an insight into their stances and views on the country's future constitutional arrangement as well as the existing differences with respect to this issue.

The talks suggest that all the crucial differences in the stands on certain issues about future relations between the Yugoslav peoples and their republics essentially stem from their extremely contrasting ideas about Yugoslavia's future character—either a federal state or an alliance of states, that is, either a federation or a confederation.

The talks resulted in the shared assessment that the constitutional system of Yugoslavia was reaching a deep crisis and that there was a real danger of its total blockade, with all the consequences that might affect the security and political situation in the country. This is due to the fact that many current constitutional provisions are inadequate for securing a way out of the crisis, and that there is no political agreement on how to change them and along which lines to change them. It was assessed that this serious situation in the country ought to be resolved without subjugating one another, and in a peaceful way, through agreement, and in a legal way. Mutually acceptable solutions to the open questions of the country's future constitutional arrangement can only be arrived at through a democratic procedure and through wide-ranging cooperation between the federation's most responsible organs and bodies, and the republics and autonomous provinces, and through direct participation on the part of the public and citizens.

As you are well aware, Yugoslavia has opted for political pluralism: in other words the right of citizens to freely associate, to form political parties—which is one of the vital conditions for overcoming ideological and other monopolies; the expansion of the citizens' rights and freedoms; and the incorporation into our system of all the progressive gains of modern industrial society based on market business. However, we have not ensured timely constitutional and legal prerequisites for this orientation in accordance with our conditions and experience, and therefore the whole process of multiparty organization started to develop haphazardly, without the necessary minimum of social guidance.

The present course of political pluralism shows that the democratic possibilities of multiparty organization have to a large extent degenerated into the opposite. Over 150 mainly national parties have been formed—and a negligible number of those have a multinational character or a Yugoslav orientation.

The forces of extreme chauvinist and nationalist orientations have come onto the political stage, advocating open national and religious hatred, and negating some Yugoslav peoples and federal units under the guise of the democratization of political life and relations in the country. In the course of their public appearances and promotions, some party leaders are openly demanding the restoration of the movements and ideologies defeated in World War II as they advocate forcible changes to the country's constitutional system.

In an extremely unfavorable economic and social context nationalisms, divisions, and hatred are raging in the name of pluralist democracy. Incapable of providing true economic, social, and cultural emancipation, many parties offer a collectivist kind of state of mind, flocking to ethnic and national ghettos, self-sufficiency, national-separatism, and chauvinism. Their militancy and national homogenization, and the attempts to homogenize members of certain nations and religious beliefs irrespective of their republican borders, are further jeopardizing intra-national and intra-republican relations.

The competent organs have so far demonstrated an untenable tolerance toward the destructive and unlawful activities of some parties. The reason for this rests primarily with the inadequate and insufficiently developed legislation, and in some cases with the fact that the competent organs tolerate such party publicity.

Increasingly present and involved are the extreme emigration, and anti-Yugoslav circles from abroad, and their interference in the country's internal life. The best proof of this are the considerable sums of money still flowing into the accounts of some of our parties—an expression of charity and patriotism is the least of what this is.

All this most seriously threatens to compromise our efforts to constitute a democratic pluralism system in Yugoslavia, and creates an atmosphere which may lead to the future compositions of republican assemblies continuing nationalist and inter-republican conflicts even more violently. For this reason we call on the citizens at forthcoming elections to approach the elections of their future representatives with utmost caution, not forgetting for a single moment that we are a multinational community, and that national exclusiveness and intolerance would be of no use to anyone.

The political and security situation in the country has considerably deteriorated since the last time the SFRY Presidency addressed the Assembly.

New hotbeds of crisis and intra-national conflicts and clashes have opened up. They are continuing to grow, and are becoming interdependent, spreading more widely throughout the country. All efforts to halt these negative trends yield only partial and temporary results.

The disintegrating processes and the increased activities from nationalist and separatist positions have further escalated the crisis. In all parts of the country, in villages and towns, in enterprises and schools, in nearly every family, there is a manifest fear and concern for the country's fate and their own fate. Uncertainty and anxiety regarding the security of people and their property is spreading. We are witnessing armed attacks on the organs of order mounted by separatist terrorists; the organization of self-defense and the taking up of arms; people seeking refuge in the woods and Army barracks; the organization of night vigils; the erection of barricades; and the breakdown of communications. The symbols of the Cetnik and Ustasa movements and of the other collaboration forces defeated in World War II are being unashamedly paraded in public. Everything that bears Yugoslavia's attributes and symbols is being desecrated in a primitive and violent way: the state banner is being set on fire, the anthem is ignored and ridiculed, and the gravestones of liberators are being demolished and desecrated.

The SFRY Presidency has assessed on several occasions that the most prominent feature of the political and security situation in the country is the rise in nationalism and separatism, and the deterioration in intra-national and intra-republican relations. This is becoming ever more manifest in the unprecedented intra-national mistrust and confrontations, and in the occurrences of intra-national clashes, violence, and the increasingly severe forms of threats to public order and peace and the security of citizens.

This wave of hatred and national prejudice threatens to pull us back to the blood-soaked past. This has become the most serious danger threatening the country's security and integrity. All this is further fueled by the open information and propaganda war raging across the totally divided realm of information in Yugoslavia.

Relations between some federal units have deteriorated to such an extent that contacts at the level of responsible organs have been cut off or reduced to confrontations in the public information media. There are even threats against some nations and nationalities, including threats to settle the accounts by using arms. The exacerbation of relations has developed into a true cold war.

The SFRY Presidency has recently reacted to numerous negative events and phenomena which endanger the political and security situation in the country.

In connection with the August events in Kninska Krajina, the SFRY Presidency requested a detailed analysis of the causes of the situation that has arisen, and established the duties of state organs for a peaceful and democratic settlement of the conflict. However, the confrontations continued, and at the end of September and the beginning of October clashes between part of the Serbian people and Croatian internal affairs' organs were repeated in a far more serious form, which further deepened the lack of intra-national trust. There was a real eruption of dissatisfaction, fear, unrest, and mass protests by citizens of Serbian nationality, not only in Kninska Krajina, but this time also in Banija, Kordun, and Lika.

In this connection, the SFRY Presidency once again warned all elements of society—both the authorities and citizens—of their duty to respect the Constitution and law.

The situation in Kosovo and Metohija is characterized by deep divisions among the population, on a national basis, which has developed to such a degree that it could grow into a conflict of wide proportions, including armed ones. Destructive mass demonstrations and strikes are continuing, and contain elements of terrorism, the consequences of which are loss of life, enormous material damages, continuing indoctrination, and unconcealed threats and pressures. Receiving concrete help and support from some parts of the country and abroad, Albanian separatists managed to win over to their goals a large part of the Albanian population, taking the relations in the province to the brink of civil war. Having broken through all the institutions of the system, including the security system, they managed to impose an almost complete blockade on economic and political life. Likewise, the problem of Kosovo and Metohija has been used abroad—as never before—as an aspect of political pressure on Yugoslavia, and within the country for breaking up the country.

The latest events also reaffirmed the deep interdependence between the situation in the country and the situation in this province. In the past months, there was a further escalation of the activity of Albanian separatists—both in the direction of achieving the fullest possible homogenization of the Albanian population by opposing the measures taken to protect the constitutional system and the functioning of the state, and in the direction of establishing a separate statehood within the province.

The SFRY Presidency has particularly considered the political, security, constitutional, and legal aspects of the proclamation of the so-called declaration of the republic of Kosovo, and later of its so-called constitution. It concluded that this act was the result of the long-standing organized actions of the Albanian separatists and nationalists, aimed at dismantling the territorial integrity of the republic of Serbia and the SFRY, and in the final stage at having Kosovo secede. Despite the fact that they cannot have any legal effect, due to their unconstitutionality, these activities fueled, in practice, the worsening of the situation and the escalation of hostile activities. The SFRY Presidency is firm in its resolve that all anti-constitutional and unlawful actions stemming from the proclamation of the constitution of the so-called republic of Kosovo must be quelled.

All this brings, and will bring about, serious consequences in intra-national relations, and not only in Kosovo and Metohija, but in the country as a whole, too. This has already deepened the differences between the leaderships of the republics, not only with respect to the resolving of the Kosovo problem alone, but also with regard to Yugoslavia's future.

It is certain that as long as the attempts of secessionists to secede from Serbia are not stopped, there will be no conditions in Kosovo and Metohija for more successful solutions to all other problems—such as its economic development, its educational system, its health service, and so on, where the situation is extremely severe.

The Presidency demands, in the case of Kosovo and Metohija, that all the competent state organs in the country as a whole act in accordance with law, cooperate with one another, and energetically suppress all occurrences and actions whereby the constitutional order is breached and the country's integrity threatened—something that has not been the case everywhere and always.

It is the commitment of the SFRY Presidency to ensure the functioning of the system in Kosovo and Metohija and have its Assembly, and other democratically elected organs and the deteriorated intra-national trust, restored.

The undermining and destruction of Yugoslavia's constitutional order is being carried out by attacking all the institutions characterized by their all-Yugoslav features. This is by and large being done by means of unscrupulous moves and actions aimed at destroying the unity of the Armed Forces and the system of the country's defense and security. The SFRY Presidency maintains that one should be open-minded toward the articulated efforts to reconsider certain elements of our concept of all-people's defense, so as to rationalize and modernize it. Nonetheless, we do not maintain that this category includes one-sided and unconstitutional actions that question the way the Yugoslav Peoples' Army recruits its draftees, as well as the whole defense system, and especially the character and constitutional role of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army. The SFRY Presidency will not let the SFRY's defense system—endorsed by the SFRY Constitution—and the uniform system of command and leadership be damaged, and the constitutional competences of the SFRY Presidency and the legal and constitutional competences of other federal organs in this sphere suspended. Otherwise one would practically embark on the formation of republican armed forces and a separate defense system, something that would spell the definitive end of the Yugoslav People's Army and its disintegration into republican armies. This is why the SFRY Presidency has made its relevant decision to prevent one from commanding Slovenia's territorial defense, as it is a part of the united Armed Forces of the SFRY.

Another case is the violation of the SFRY Constitution by the recent decision of the Assembly of Slovenia to proclaim as invalid, on the republic's territory, 27 federal laws, including any future federal laws unless approved by the Slovene Assembly. In this way this republic arbitrarily determines its own status within Yugoslavia, blatantly violates the SFRY Constitution and the rights of other republics, and directly counters the democratic method of resolving common problems in cooperation with other members of the Yugoslav federation.

The political situation will be even further exacerbated by the decision of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia not to take part in new elections for the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber.

Under such political circumstances it has become very difficult to implement an economic reform which cannot be fully carried out institutionally. Without unanimity in implementing it, it will be hard to make successful steps forward. The question is, under present consditions is it possible to maintain the positive results achieved so far in curbing inflation, to stabilize the country's balance of payments and foreign currency reserves, and to divert the danger of a recession? Economic reform success will depend to a large extent on the way our economy responds to market terms and to present-day global trends in the sphere of modern organization and in the use of new technology. For this we need a stable political situation and legal scurity, which will help to attract foreign investors and foreign capital. If we fail in this, current mounting social problems, especially workers' discontent in many enterprises which have been experiencing difficulties in production and on the market, could seriously jeopardize reforms already underway in the country.

The seriousness of our economic and social situation requires full involvement, patience and responsibility in everday work on the part of responsible organs. We cannot but be concerned over the fact that this is being neglected and is being replaced by political preelection competition among the parties.

The internal political crisis and the slow pace at which the issue of relations in the federation has been tackled have seriously jeopardized Yugoslavia's international position and undermined its credibility as a partner.

The initial success in implementing the economic reform is no longer sufficient to compensate for the negative aspect of our internal political and even economic development.

Our foreign political partners have been expressing concern about the future of Yugoslavia as a single country. They all fear that the disintegration of Yugoslavia could lead to disruption in the Balkans and in southeastern Europe, and could threaten all the positive processes of integration and of overcoming divisions on the European continent.

With obviously good intentions in mind, our foreign partners have been pointing out that tensions in intranational relations are not in line with either current trends in international relations or with Yugoslavia's positive legacy of resistance to the cold war and her efforts in the policy of peaceful coexistence. There are, unfortunately, signs that Yugoslavia is beginning to be referred to as the nascent hotbed of crisis.

Yugoslavia's negative image in the world has resulted to a certain extent from the lack of harmony in the growing international activity of our republics. International activity of the republics as constituent parts of the federation is politically and constitutionally legitimate, but if it is to be legitimate in practice there must be respect for the existing constitutional norms and the international code of behavior. Unfortunately, with efforts to destroy their own country, representatives of some of our republics have openly sought support from certain international circles and the international public, thus discrediting Yugoslavia and humiliating themselves and the republic from which they come.

International partners accept the initiative to cooperate with our republics as part of our country's openness and of democratization of international relations, but without undermining the international movement or the SFRY's legitimacy and reputation.

It is understandable that under such circumstances Yugoslavia is finding it increasingly difficult to maintain its foreign political activities. We are expected to make an active contribution to the positive trend in both Europe and the world and to the efforts to resolve the crisis situation in some parts of the world. The international community also expects Yugoslavia, in her capacity as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement and as a country situated in a strategically important area and with a traditionally dynamic foreign policy, to remain an important factor of peace in the world and in developing constructive international cooperation. This is probably why almost all our foreign partners—the friendly countries with which Yugoslavia maintains developed and comprehensive relations—have shown a high degree of understanding about the difficulties our country is experiencing.

The crisis in Yugoslavia has reached its culmination point. We must most resolutely embark on the work urgently and radically to resolve the constitutional crisis, above all. Otherwise we may experience even greater difficulties bordering on chaos, civil war, and the disintegration of the country. It should be said openly today that these are not just hypothetical assumptions but real dangers. Our decision to openly and publicly draw attention to these dangers is designed to emphasize the responsibility which rests with the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council, and other competent organs. We stress the need to energetically counter these dangers with all the constitutional instruments at our disposal.

Responsible organs must carry out their duties and take all necessary measures to halt the current negative course of events and to create conditions for a democratic way out of the crisis, for our citizens' peaceful life, and for the country's further unhindered development.

There can be no delay in resolving the constitutional-legal and political crisis. Most resolute steps must be taken to counter the policy of the country's silent disintegration, the resistance to economic reform, intranational and intra-republican conflicts, and the violation of the equality of the nations and the republics as laid down by the SFRY Constitution. If we further delay facing the reality, we will provide grounds for the crisis to assume even more drastic proportions, which we will not be able to control.

Likewise, it would be unrealistic to believe that a resolution of the economic crisis could, by itself, resolve the current crisis in the constitutional order in the country. On the contrary, further delay in resolving the constitutional crisis threatens to prevent the implementation of the economic reforms.

Facing such a situation and in line with its constitutional responsibilities, the SFRY Presidency expresses willingness and resoluteness to take up its obligation. It demands the same from everyone responsible for the fate of the country, especially from the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council.

In this sense, the SFRY Presidency is resolute on concentrating its efforts in two directions. On the one hand, it will not allow further destruction of the constitutional order in the country through one-sided decisions and undemocratic methods. It will work on ensuring constitutionality and legality, internal stability, and averting the danger of anarchy with all envisaged constitutional measures and with the utterly responsible assistance of all state players. On the other hand, it will insist that decisions be made to resolve the current constitutional crisis in a sensible, peaceful, and democratic manner.

In the discussions that have taken place so far about the character of the constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia and ways of resolving it, two basically different approaches have crystalized.

On the one hand, views have been expressed that the joint life of the Yugoslav nations within the current terrritorial framework is not just possible, yet represents a permanent barrier to civil war and all other forms of violence.

According to such views, the interests of the Yugoslav nations to live together in a federal community have been reaffirmed in the preceding period. The inevitability of their togetherness stems from the close links and intermingled relations among them which have resulted from their historical development and coexistence on this territory. Under conditions of separated units, it would not just be difficult to guarantee and safeguard the vital interest of the Yugoslav nations, but would be practically impossible, without serious conflicts, to carry out territorial demarcation between potential separate state entities which would be set up within the boundaries of present-day Yugoslavia. All these issues—according to such views—entail an entire series of reasons which must not be ignored and because of which federal Yugoslavia must be preserved, although on new constitutional foundations which would be expected to remove current contradictions through agreements and in a more rational way.

To this end, a profound reform of the country's constitutional system is sought. We must build a modern and efficient democratic federal community, and remove dogmatic and ideological prejudices, based on full civil freedoms and rights, the equality of the nations and nationalities, the rule of law, the pluralism of parties and ownership forms, and respect for the market. Yugoslavia, in this shape, would be rid of any institutional scope for imposing political will, economic exploitation, or national inequality. It would also firmly guarantee the territorial integrity of the country and of its individual parts. Federal authorities would be expected to be efficient in exercising those powers entrusted to them through an agreement between all the members of the federation. Each individual member of the federation must be equal to all others and fully independent as regards its sovereign rights. The limits of a member's sovereignty would be determined by the volume of common functions which the republics would transfer to the federation on the basis of estimated common interests. Precisely this is the basis on which the concept of the country's new federal order has been developed.

In contrast to this, views have been expressed according to which the Yugoslav federation is historically outmoded and does not provide the optimum form of coexistence for the Yugoslav nations. According to these views, it is necessary to do away with federal Yugoslavia and to render completely independent and sovereign all Yugoslav republics, which would then sign a confederal contract. These new independent and sovereign states, created out of the disintegrated Yugoslav federation, would sign a treaty on a union of states as a separate international community within which they would settle affairs judged to be of mutual interest. This, of course, would not be a single state, but six new European states aspiring to receive international recognition and to develop independently their own constitutional and economic systems, as well as international, legal, economic, and political relations. On the basis of this, a concept of a confederal contract between the Yugoslav republics would be drawn up.

The SFRY Presidency, at an expanded session with the presidents of the republic and autonomous provinces, concluded that there is currently no possibility for the above concepts to converge.

The SFRY Presidency holds that both models are legitimate and should be the subject of further discussions in the SFRY Assembly, republican assemblies, and among the public, so that the final choice and decisions can be made. Of course, the SFRY Presidency will continue to take an active part in this process so that the most adequate solution can be found.

Bearing this in mind, the SFRY Presidency has decided to support the concept of the federal order in the country and to propose that the SFRY Assembly adopt this concept as the basis for drafting a new Yugoslav constitution. In opting for the concept of a modern federation and in acknowledging existing relations in Yugoslavia today, the SFRY Presidency has assessed that a federal social system is the best way for securing the liberties and rights of Yugoslav citizens, full national equality, independence of members of the federation, and a stable federation which can discharge its functions efficiently.

Only in this way can Yugoslavia implement economic reforms and democratic changes, reestablish internal stability, and strengthen Yugoslavia's international position. This is the way to build a bridge over which Yugoslavia can join the modern and, in the future, united Europe.

The SFRY Presidency has completed an important part of its activities in the search for the ways of resolving Yugoslavia's constitutional crisis. In the SFRY Presidency's view, the two concepts of the country's future system and its clear commitment to democratic federal Yugoslavia have created basic requirements for a debate on how to arrive at the most favorable future constitutional system in the country.

We recommend that, as the SFRY Presidency has done, the SFRY Assembly should accept the concept of the country's constitutional system on federative bases and submit it for debate to the assemblies in the republic. This would be followed by the work to draw up and adopt a new Yugoslav constitution. At the same time, the SFRY Assembly should submit the confederal concept to the republics as a possible option.

In view of the above, the SFRY Presidency wishes to:

First, it wants to inform the SFRY Assembly that it has completed the first stage of its activities in resolving the country's constitutional crisis by creating provisions for outlining the existing concepts of our future state system.

Second, it wants to inform the SFRY Assembly that the SFRY Presidency favors the federal system in the country but is submitting both concepts for further consideration.

Third, it wants to recommend to the SFRY Assembly that it lend its support to the concept for a federal system in the country and send both concepts to the assemblies of the socialist [as received] republics for consideration with the reminder that to opt for the confederal model would entail a referendum in which citizens would be able to put forward their views.

Fourth, it wants to recommend to the SFRY Assembly that it pass a decision under which the work on the country's new constitution would commence immediately after the assemblies of the republics makes their views on the issue known.

If, in selecting the concepts for the country's future system, the republics decide on different options, the ensuring action would be in line with the program of action for implementing changes in the constitutional relations within the SFRY designed to resolve the constitutional crisis. You have been given this program. As I have already stressed, the program will be readjusted to reflect the topical situation.

It must not be forgotten that by the end of the year the mandate of the delegates in the SFRY assembly Federal Chamber will expire. It is therefore necessary to resolve the problem of continuity in the work of the SFRY Assembly in order to carry out the above tasks.

In proposing this kind of resolution of the constitutional-legal crisis, the SFRY Presidency proceeds from the fact that national turbulation and numerous clashes are threatening to turn into open conflicts which, under our circumstances, would inevitably lead to a civil war. The SFRY Presidency therefore recommends the adoption of the decisions of fateful importance for the country. In its view, except for the use of force, there is no other way of fully countering attempts by individual republics to destroy and incapacitate Yugoslavia as a common state. At the same time, the SFRY Presidency is aware of the fact that the decisions to be passed will have far-reaching political, national, and economic consequences, not just for Yugoslavia's citizens, nations, and nationalities, but further afield in Europe. On the other hand, the SFRY Presidency is of the view that the uncontrolled course of events must not be allowed to continue any longer. All responsible bodies have the duty to comprehensively analyze all political, economic, international, and other important developments before they embark on adopting crucial decision. Such decisions must be made with full historic responsibility.

The SFRY Presidency's efforts toward a peaceful and democratic resolution to the crisis must not be interpreted as indifference to the outcome of democratic elections. It has statd clearly that it considers legitimate all democratically chosen options, but that it also has its own view on them. Even under such circumstances, the SFRY Presidency will continue to direct its efforts toward a united and strong federal Yugoslavia with its territorial integrity intact.

The SFRY Presidency wants to see the proposed concepts comprehensively analyzed in the SFRY Assembly and the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces as well as by the public. It also wants to see utmost efforts made to reach unanimity on the transformation of Yugoslavia's political system. We are aware that this will not be an easy task, especially in light of the existing political intransingence. The responsibility resting with us all is all the greater.

The fate of the Yugoslav state, of its nations, and its citizens today primarily depends on our ability to act in a sensible manner in light of the importance of the tasks and our historical responsibility.

The SFRY Presidency expects the SFRY Assembly to endorse this assessment of the political-security situation in the country and of the topicality of Yugoslavia's constitutional crisis and to accept proposals for its resolution.

Jovic Report Warns of Chaos, Civil War

LD1710202990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1949 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The crisis in Yugoslavia has reached its peak, SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic assesses in a report on the political and security situation in the country. The report was handed to delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly today.

It is necessary, he stresses, to embark on an urgent and radical resolution of, above all, the constitutional crisis. Otherwise, we could be facing even greater difficulties verging on chaos, civil war, and disintegration of the country. These are not just hypothetical possibilities, but real dangers, Jovic warns.

In openly and publicly drawing attention to these dangers, we want to underline responsibility of the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council, and other competent bodies, and the necessity to oppose these dangers energetically and with all available constitutional means, the SFRY Presidency president stresses.

Referendum on Federal Structure Proposed

LD1710204190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1959 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency is proposing to the Yugoslav Assembly that it should support the concept of a federal structure for the country, and also that it should send both concepts—the federal and confederal—to the republican assemblies for their consideration. A decision on a confederal model also implies citizens stating their views in a referendum, Jovic stresses. The SFRY Presidency also proposes that once the republics have stated their views, the drafting of the country's new constitution should begin.

In proposing this denouement of the constitutional and legal crisis, the SFRY Presidency proceeded from the fact that the present exacerbated situation in the country could lead to civil war. That is why it proposed the adoption of such crucial decisions, since there is no other possibility, other than the use of force, of resisting the endeavors of certain republics aimed at destroying Yugoslavia completely as a joint state and preventing its functioning, the SFRY Presidency president states.

Jovic Notes Parties' 'Destructive Activity'

LD1710203490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2004 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—Toward destructive and illegal activity of some parties, competent bodies have so far showed unwarranted leniency, SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic believes.

According to Jovic, the reason for this lies primarily in inadequate and undeveloped legal provisions, and, in some cases, in tolerance which competent bodies have exhibited toward such party activities.

Presidency's Federal Proposal Released

LD1710174590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency today submitted to the Yugoslav Assembly its concept of Yugoslavia's constitutional system on federal bases. The following is the text of the document:

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

1. The Federal Republic [FR] of Yugoslavia is the state of equal citizens, equal nations and (?their republics).

The FR of Yugoslavia is a democratic state based on [words indistinct] and the rights of man and citizen, the rule of law and social justice.

2. The FR of Yugoslavia consists of the following republics: Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, and Montenegro.

The territory of the FR of Yugoslavia consists of the territories of the republics. The territory of a republic cannot be changed without the consent of that republic.

The borders of the FR of Yugoslavia cannot be changed without the consent of all the republics.

Borders between the republics can be changed only on the basis of their mutual agreement.

3. The FR of Yugoslavia (?is) a unique economic and legal territory in which citizens and economic entities enjoy an equal status, rights, and obligations.

4. The FR of Yugoslavia has its own emblem, flag, anthem and capital, all of which will be provided for by the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia.

National Equality

5. In the FR of Yugoslavia the following Yugoslav nations have equal status: Macedonians, Muslims, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, and Montenegrins.

National minorities (or nationalities as an alternative) in the FR of Yugoslavia will enjoy nationality rights laid down by the constitution.

6. The languages of the nations and national minorities and their scripts are equal on the territory of Yugoslavia. The languages of the nations are in the official use in the FR of Yugoslavia, while the use of the national minority languages is laid down by the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia and federal laws.

7. Citizens are entitled to sovereignty which is exercised in republics and in the federation as laid down in the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia in the interest of all republics.

8. Republics are states which exercise a part of their sovereign rights in the FR of Yugoslavia and are independent in the performance of their rights and duties as laid down in their own constitutions and are independent in the organization of government on their territories.

A republic can form autonomous units in the way and with functions as laid down by the constitution of the republic.

The constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia may lay down forms and ways of representation of autonomous provinces in federal bodies.

9. The constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia, its federal law, and other federal general documents are obligatory on the whole territory of the FR of Yugoslavia.

Decisions, documents and other individual regulations issued in one republic have the same validity on the whole territory of the FR of Yugoslavia.

10. The republican constitution, all its laws and other regulations and general documents may not contravene the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia.

11. Each republic has a right, on the basis of a referendum-based will of its citizens, to decide to secede from the FR of Yugoslavia in the way as laid down by the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia.

Freedoms, Rights and Duties of Man and Citizen

12. The constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia would guarantee all the freedoms, rights, and duties of man and citizen embodied in the constitutional documents of modern democratic states as their civilizational achievements and standards and, in this framework, especially those freedoms and rights envisaged by appropriate international legal documents such as conventions and other relevant documents of the UN, the CSCE, the EC, and so forth.

13. Citizens enjoy equal rights and duties and are entitled to equal protection before state and other organs regardless of race, sex, birth, language, national affiliation, religion, political, or other beliefs, education, social background, property status or any other personal characteristics.

14. The freedoms and rights of man and citizen are limited by the identical freedoms and rights of others and can be restricted solely by conditions laid down by the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia.

Court protection of the freedoms and rights is guaranteed, especially in the cases of law-envisaged deviations from the constitutionally-guaranteed freedoms and rights.

The Rights of National Minorities

15. Under conditions envisaged by law, citizens—members of national minorities—will be guaranteed the following special rights:

a) to education in their own language;
b) to extensive cultural development;
c) to the official use on an equal footing of their own language in areas populated by the minority concerned;
d) to press and information media in their own languages;
e) to set up national cultural and social organizations.

Single Economic Entity

16. The territory of the FR of Yugoslavia is the single economic entity.

17. Social, state, private, and cooperative property and other forms of property laid down by law are guaranteed.

All forms of property have equal legal protection.

18. Economic and other activities are carried out freely, under equal conditions, and in accordance with the constitution and law.

Enterprises and other forms of economic organization are free to choose forms and manners of organization and to carry out businesses, plan their activities, pool and link their resources, have equal status on the market in respect of general conditions of economic activity and legal protection, and resources at their disposal serve as guarantees for obligations incurred in legally sanctioned businesses.

Single Market

19. A single market is ensured through:

— the free exchange of goods and services and the free flow of money, capital, and labor. Documents and actions creating or stimulating monopolistic or other restrictions on the market contravene the constitution;

— the single currency; the single monetary, foreign exchange, customs, and banking system; the single monetary and foreign exchange policy;

— the single taxation system and the single fiscal policy;

— the single system and common policy of economic relations with foreign countries;

—the common development and economic policy of and strategy for the country's scientific and technological advance.

20. Enterprises and other economic organizations can carry out their duties and invest funds abroad in accordance with conditions established by the federal law.

21. Ownership and labor are bases for appropriation (of income) and participation in management. Employees manage social enterprises and take part in the management of other types of enterprises in which they work, that is, in which they invest funds in keeping with laws and collective agreements.

22. Foreigners can acquire the right of ownership in the FR of Yugoslavia in accordance with conditions established by the federal law and they are guaranteed rights to carry out business activities on the basis of (laws) on investments and management established for Yugoslav citizens.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia

23. The National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBJ) is the sole establishment of monetary power responsible for the stability of the currency, general liquidity of payments in the country and abroad, the implementation of joint monetary and foreign-currency policy, and monetary control of bank activities.

NBJ issues bank notes and coins and—in keeping with the joint monetary policy—regulates the amount of money in circulation.

NBJ cannot carry out the duties of banks except for keeping funds of the federation as a deposit and carrying out credit and other bank transactions for the needs of national defense, established by the federal law, as well as other bank transactions for the purposes of the federation—also established by the federal law.

NBJ has the right to propose federal laws and other documents which are passed by the Federal Assembly in the sphere of monetary, banking, and foreign currency systems and the joint monetary and foreign currency policy.

A governor, elected by the Federal Assembly, is responsible foir the transactions of the NBJ.

The Financing of the Federation

24. The federation decides on a budget stating its revenues and expenditures.

The federal funds are secured through custom duties, taxation, and other sources of revenue determined by a federal law.

The federation can introduce levies (kotizacija) on the republics in order to finance the functioning of the federation.

Tax and other contributions are determined according to tax payers' economic strength.

Laws, other regulations, and general documents laying down budgetary obligations cannot be adopted unless it has been established previously that funds for carrying out these obigations have been secured.

Rights and Duties of the Federation

25. The Federation through its bodies:

a) ensures independence and territorial integrity of the FR of Yugoslavia and protects its sovereignty in international relations; declares war and peace; organizes the national defense and country's security; formulaters the foreign policy of the FR of Yugoslavia and oversees its implementations;

b) regulates and formulates: property and obligatory relations; legal status and business activities of enterprises and other forms of economic activity at the single market; the system of taxation; the banking system;

—effects and is responsible for: the monetary system, legal tender and money issue; foreign trade, foreign currency and other economic transactions abroad; customs and non-customs protection; defending the unity of the market including protective measures against monopolies and unfair competition; the formation of large technological systems of importance for the entire country; federal commodity reserves;

—formulates: common development and economic policy including common monetary, foreign exchange and taxation policy; the policy of encouraging the development of economically insufficiently developed regions in the republics;

c) arranges relations of interest to the entire country in the following spheres: state security, transport and communications, water systems, environmental protection, the production of and traffic in toxic substances, narcotics, explosives, inflammable liquids and gases, health protection, the protection of plants and animals, land and geological survey;

d) formulates the notion of the citizenship of the FR of Yugoslavia; decides on state holidays and state decorations of the FR of Yugoslavia; lays conditions for the use of the anthem, the emblem and the flag of the FR of Yugoslavia; formulates and passes criminal law, stipulates court and administrative proceedings and decides on sanctions in the case of violations of federal regulations; lays conditions for amnesty and pardoning in the case of criminal acts envisaged by federal law;

—lays down procedure for resolving collisions of the laws of a republic with the laws of other republics (collision norms) and the collisions of competence between organs from different republics; lays down procedure to resolve collision between the FR of Yugoslavia laws and the laws of other countries;

arranges and provides conditions for the organization, competence, and the method of work of federal organs;

—safeguards the rights of national minorities;

—safeguards the right of parts of Yugoslav nations in other countries;

The FR of Yugoslavia constitution specifies the competence of federal organs in the above spheres in relation to the constitutional competence of the republics.

The Organs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

26. The organs of the FR of Yugoslavia are the Federal Assembly, the FR of Yugoslavia Presidency as a collective organ, the federal government, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, the Supreme Court of Yugoslavia, and the Federal Public Prosecutor.

1. The Federal Assembly

27. The Federal Assembly is the organ of legislative authority.

The Federal Assembly:

1) decides on changes in the constitution and adopts: federal laws, other federal acts, the budget and annual balance sheet of the FR of Yugoslavia;

2) decides on changes to the borders of the FR of Yugoslavia in both war and peace;

3) confirms the election and dismissal of members of the FR of Yugoslavia Presidency;

4) appoints and dismisses the holders of top federal public posts as set out in the Consitution;

5) ratifies international agreements;

6) realises political control over the work of the federal government;

7) carries out other tasks as set out in the constitution.

28. The Federal Assembly consists of two chambers: the Federal Chamber (alternative: Chamber of Citizens) and the Chamber of Republics.

29. The Federal Chamber has a constitutionally determined number of deputies elected by citizens in direct elections by secret ballot.

The composition of the Federal Chamber—whether according to a proportional, parity or combined principle—is determined by the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia.

Candidates for deputies may be proposed by political organizations and groups of citizens.

30. The Chamber of Republics has 90 deputies, with each republic electing 15 deputies in the manner laid down by republican law.

31. Deputies are elected for four years.

The president and vice presidents of the Federal Assembly and presidents of the Chambers of the Federal Assembly are elected for the same term of office.

32. The deputy enjoys immunity, in accordance with the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia.

33. The Federal Assembly carries out tasks within its competence with its chambers acting on equal terms [u ravnopravnom delokrugu svojih domova]

The Chambers decide issues within the competence of the Federal Assembly by a majority of votes at sessions attended by a majority of deputies, unless the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia otherwise specifies.

The procedure for coordination to adopt certain acts in the event of the Chambers' failure to reach agreement should be laid down by the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia.

34. The constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia determines issues which are of vital interest to republics, on which decisions are made in agreement with the republican assemblies.

35. If agreement of the republican assemblies is not reached on a draft law or other general act, the federal government may propose that the law or general act is adopted as a temporary measure in the manner laid down by the FR of Yugoslavia constitution.

36. The Federal Assembly meets in two regular sessions a year.

The Federal Assembly meets in extraordinary sessions at the request of the federal government; a republican assembly, at least 50 deputies of the Federal Chamber or 10 deputies of the Chamber of Republics, with an agenda established in advance.

37. A right to propose federal laws and other federal general documents is reserved for the federal government, each of the deputies, republican assemblies, and a number of voters established by the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia.

38. The Federal Assembly can make a decision whereby voters at a referendum can decide about some issues within its jurisdiction, except the issues covered by item 34.

A decision reached at a referendum is valid if the majority of voters are in favor of it.

2. The FR of Yugoslavia Presidency

39. The FR of Yugoslavia Presidency:

1) is the supreme commander of the Armed forces of the FR of Yugoslavia, in keeping with the constitution and federal laws;

2) proposes to the Federal Assembly candidates for president of the Federal Government, president and judges of the constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, and other federal officials established by the FR of Yugoslavia constitution;

3) decides about questions in the sphere of state security, national defense, foreign policy and international relations—established by the FR of Yugoslavia constitution;

4) appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the FR of Yugoslavia in keeping with the federal law, receives letters of credence and recall from foreign diplomatic representatives;

5) awards orders of the FR of Yugoslavia in keeping with the federal law;

6) grants amnesties in keeping with the federal law.

40. The FR of Yugoslavia Presidency represents the FR of Yugoslavia in the country and abroad and carries out other legal duties and responsibilities established by the constitution.

41. The number of members of the FR of Yugoslavia Presidency is established by the FR of Yugoslavia constitution. They are elected and recalled by republican assemblies and confirmed by the Federal Assembly.

3. The Federal Government

42. The federal government is executive body.

Federal Government:

1) proposes and implements federal laws, other regulations and general documents endorsed by the Federal Assembly;

2) passes regulations concerning the implementation of federal laws, other regulations and general documents;

3) organizes, guides, and coordinates the work of federal ministries and other federal administrative bodies and oversees this work.

43. The federal government is composed of the president, vice presidents, and ministers.

44. Candidates for the president of the government presents his/her program to the Assembly and proposes government members.

The government is elected if the majority of deputies of both Assembly chambers vote for it.

Following each constitution of a newly-elected Assembly, a new government is also elected.

45. The government and each government member are accountable for their work to the Assembly.

The Federal Assembly can pass a vote of no confidence in the government or any government member.

The constitution will precisely lay conditions under which the government is obliged to resign for example, when the majority of delegates in the chambers pass a vote of no confidence in the government, and the like.

At the government's insistance the vote of confidence in it may be made by the Assembly.

At least 50 deputies can table a motion of confidence in the government.

The constitution will lay precise conditions under which the FR of Yugoslavia Presidency, at the government's proposal, decides to dissolve the Assembly (for example by an Assembly decision, at the government's proposal if Chambers are obstructing the work of the government and the like), and under which the Assembly cannot be dissolved (for example the beginning and end of its mandate, during war and immediate war danger and others).

The federal government ensures that federal regulations are implemented and is held accountable for this.

46. Federal ministries hold federal administrative positions which they carry out throughout the entire territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Federal ministries implement federal laws and other federal general documents passed by the Federal Assembly and the Federal Government, discharge administrative functions, fulfill administrative supervisory role and other administrative affairs laid down by law.

4. The Constitutional Court of the FR of Yugoslavia

47. The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, as the constitutional organ for the protection of constitutionality and legality, would also afford protection of certain constitutional freedoms and rights to those injured by a particular act or action, if there is no provision for any other legal protection.

The Constitutional Court would defend federal legality with regard to all federal laws.

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia would assess the constitutionality and legality of program and other general acts of political parties and other organizations and associations of citizens, which are founded and operate throughout the territory of Yugoslavia.

The possibility of the validity of legal norms would be excluded following a decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia establishing their unconstitutionality. The nature and legal effect of the judgement of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia on contravention of a republican constitution of the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia and the method of eliminating the established contravention would be specified.

5. The Federal Judicial Organs

48. The legal protection of the freedoms and rights of the individual and citizens and the equality of all subjects are guaranteed for the single Yugoslav market by the federal courts organized as a network of courts of first and second instance and the Federal Supreme Court.

With regard to the competence of these courts in relation to the republican courts, provision should be made for a divison of judicial functions such that one area deals exclusively with federal legal protection in all instances (both extraordinary and regular legal remedies)—for example, criminal legal protection of the most important freedoms and rights of the individual and citizens; settlement of civil lawsuits in connection with the most important legal institutions; economic lawsuits when the parties are from different republics or when the contested value exceeds a certain amount.

In the second area the federal legal competence would only extend to appeals or extraordinary legal remedies, and not on all matters, but only those where it is important thereby in legal practice to standardize legal decisions for the sake of the equality of citizens of the FR of Yugoslavia and of other legal subjects. In this area there would exist independently organized legal competence of first and second recourse in the republics, as well as independent legal competence in other matters outside those explicitly stated.

The competence and organization of the federal public prosecutor's office would be accompanied by the appropriate competence and organization of the federal judiciary.

Alternative for Item 48

In order to ensure the uniform application of the federal regulations, the judicial function is carried out by the federal courts with the powers set out in the constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia.

Changes to the Constitution of the FR of Yugoslavia

49. The Chambers of the Assembly of the FR of Yugoslavia decide on changes in the constitution.

A proposal for initiating changes in the constitution may be submitted by at least 100,000 members of the electorate, by 50 deputies, the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Government, and the republican assemblies.

A decision to proceed with changes to the constitution is adopted by the Assembly by a majority of votes of the deputies in each Chamber.

The Federal Chamber draws up the draft act on changes to the constitution, which is submitted for public discussion and the consideration of the republican assemblies.

After the public discussion and views put forward by republican assemblies, the federal chamber establishes a draft document about changes.

Both Assembly Chambers decide about the draft. Changes are adopted by the Assembly if two thirds of all deputies in the Federal Chamber and the majority of deputies from each republic in the chamber of municipalities vote for it.

The document on changes which is adopted by the Assembly is submitted to republican assemblies for consent.

The consent of republican assemblies would be sought only if constitutional changes referred to the constitutional status of republics and the equality of nations.

In the case of the assemblies of all republics being in agreement over the document on changes, the FR of Yugoslavia Assembly proclaims the adopted changes.

Should the assembly of one or two republics fail to give consent for the constitutional changes—adopted in the FR of Yugoslavia Assembly—a referendum for constitutional changes is called. The changes are adopted at the referendum if the majority of Yugoslav voters and the majority of voters in two thirds of the republics vote in favor of them (alternative: majority of voters in each republic).

Alternative for Item 49:

To retain the existing procedure, established by the constitution, for changing the Yugoslav constitution, while securing the existing constitutional status of republics in this procedure.

The work on drawing up the concept proceeded from the desire to improve the present federal concept, to make it more efficient and more appropriate to present-day conditions with respect to the fundamental constitutional status of the republics up to this point.

In view of the above, the proposed concept of the federal model is designed to help to develop a realistic model of the federal system.

The proposed concept requires a number of explanations:

1. The name of "the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" is a possible working name which is, in no way, insisted upon nor are there good arguments for it; other names are also possible.

2. The "federal state" definition reflects two of its constitutive elements, in particular: citizens and federal units. The departure point was that these two constituent elements of the federation are not controversial since they can be found in any federation and must be reflected in the way the federation is organized and especially in the federal parliament. They must especially come to the fore in the decisionmaking process in the federation and, in particular, in the work on changing the constitution.

The complex nature of Yugoslavia's national structure is reflected in the emphasis on this factor within the definition.

3. In reference to national equality, whose principled basis is not controversial at all, the notion of "national minority" has been used instead of the notion of "nationality" which has been in use so far. Although there is no doubt that that the nation is to a large extent in accordance with internationally recognized legal documents, it nevertheless remains to be politically decided whether to opt for the change or whether to retain the notion of "nationality".

4. In the chapter "Yugoslavia and the republics"—from the point of view of the complex theoretic problem of sovereignty and the implementation of sovereign rights—it is proceeded from the orientation whereby all sovereign rights are implemented in republics and in Yugoslavia when this is established by the constitution as being of joint interest.

5. When preparing this concept an attempt has been made to place strong emphasis on the independent status of republics and their full right to self-organization.

The necessary reaffirmation of the right to self-organization is indisputable. There are no longer any reasons why, for instance, the structure of republican assemblies, the existence and the form of organizing the head of state, the form of organizing the executive (body) and such should be treated as the elements of the uniform bases of the Yugoslavia political system. These are the reasons why there is no mention in the federal constitution about institutions such as the national bank, and such. This is exclusively a matter for the republican right to self-organization. A republic's full independence in this respect results from its status and its sovereign right to self-organization.

Possible differences as to the organization of a republic do not in themselves mean the asymetry of the federation because neither the constitutional-legal status, nor the equal rights of republics, and not even the equality of nations are being called into question.

In keeping with the above stand on the sovereign status of republics, provinces are treated exclusively as the categories of the republican constitution.

6. Proceeding from the consistent application of each nation's right to self-determination, the existing provision pertaining to relations between republican laws and the federal constitution prescribing that republican constitutions must not contradict the federal one, should be amended and extended to all republican laws. This not just theoretically clarifies and makes more precise the nature of these relations, but also brings them into line with the nature of the arrived at relations between the federation and the republics.

7. The concept explicitly establishes a constituional right of each republic to leave Yugoslavia. Although such constitutional rights are not customary in federal systems, the draft of the concept was based on the fact that the right of each republic to leave the Yugoslavia federal community has to such an extent become a political demand that this subject cannot be ignored by constitutional regulations.

8. With regard to liberties, rights, and duties of man and citizen, the concept proceeds primarily from the existing constitutional regulations and it adopted all possible relevant addenda taken from international legal and political documents which our country has already endorsed.

9. Solutions offered in connection with the single economic entity, single market, the National Bank, the financing of the federation, and the rights and duties of the federation in these fields, present constitutional basis for the establishment of the market economy founded on the freedom of enterprenership" with all forms of ownership and the basis for developing instruments of an economic system which would ensure functioning of the single market.

10. A considerable number of new solutions are being proposed with regard to the organization of the federation: A new method of constituting a Federal Assembly, a new method of decisionmaking, the introduction of federal courts as a separate court rank in the country as a whole. These solutions also contain alternatives and the final stand will be taken in the process of adopting a new constitution.

11. As far as the Federal Assembly is concerned, it has been proposed that it should consist of the Federal Chamber or the Chamber of Citizens and the chamber of Republics, which is the consequence of the consistent application of the initial stand on citizens and federal units as the constituent elements of the federation. Circumstances of a political nature have made it absolutely necessary that the final orientation on the composition of the Federal Chamber should be carried out in the process of the adoption of the FR of Yugoslavia constitution.

In connection with the method of decisionmaking in the Federal Assembly, a bicameral decisionmaking has been proposed, that is, both chambers will have equal jurisdiction. Both the theory and practice of parliamentarianism in the world give definite priority to bicameral decisionmaking being more democratic, more objective, and of better quality.

In our circumstances this means the dissolution of the present system of independent jurisdiction of chambers and the scrapping of the existing two assemblies within the pro forma united Assembly as was the case until now.

According to this concept, decisionmaking on the basis of consent given by republican assemblies would be established for those issues wich are confirmed—in the process of adopting the FR of Yugoslavia constitution—to be of vital interest for republics. Since some of these issues cannot be left without a decision, a document could be passed as a temporary measure in case the Chamber of Republics fails to vote.

12. As far as functions are concerned, the FR of Yugoslavia Presidency has mainly retained the volume and quality of functions which suit the present constitutional solutions. This also applies to the method of electing the FR of Yugoslavia Presidency members.

13. As far as the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia is concerned it will be possible for it to protect federal legality as a whole and not just in relation to one category of federal laws, as was the case until now. The jurisdiction of this court now includes the assessment of the constitutionality and legality of the general documents of political parties which are being organized on the entire Yugoslav territory.

14. When speaking about legislative organs two types of courts are envisaged: federal and republican. The intention is to provide more efficient protection on the part of federal courts, especially for the uniform Yugoslav market, to ensure a more uniform penal-legal protection in the whole of the country and secure a more uniform application of federal laws in general. It goes without saying that a complete organization of legislature in republics would remain to be done visa-vis a legal system which is being designed there. Concrete questions regarding the distribution of jurisdiction would be settled in the process of adopting a new constitution.

15. As for the method of changing the constitution two important changes are being proposed: the consent of republics would not be sought at the stage of passing the decision to proceed with changing the constitution—which prevents an absolutely useless blockade of the procedure at this stage. As for the second change, it is proposed that in the case of the republics failing to reach consent at the stage of decision-making, this item should not be taken off the agenda but instead, a way out would be sought through a referendum. In this case the result of the referendum is definite, but there are two alternatives as to the way it is carried out. The final decision in this respect are more a matter of political assessment. According to another proposed alternative, the existing constitutional solution regarding the role of republican assemblies is retained on both stages of constitutional changes.

Drnovsek Comments on Relations, Crisis in Country

AU1610114390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Oct 90 p 1

[V. Simonovic report: "One Can Talk to Milosevic"]

[Text] Celje—The protest of the Slovene Presidency did not reach Belgrade by the time the SFRY Presidency held its session. However, I spoke to Dr. Jovic and we tried to establish where we stand at present. The measures carried out in Ljubljana, which are the consequence of the SFRY Presidency's conclusion, do not have special practical significance. The Army had to save face. If no further incidents occur, this is how the situation will remain. This was stated by Janez Drnovsek, member of the SFRY Presidency, in a conversation with citizens in the Hotel Europe in Celje at the end of last week.

Commenting on the world's reaction to the latest events in Yugoslavia, Drnovsek said that it was not favorable. As regards the dramatic incident involving the Army in Slovenia, Drnovsek said that the situation was even more dramatic at the time when Slovenia was adopting its constitutional amendments, or when the "meeting of truth" was banned in Ljubljana last November. According to Drnovsek, a political solution is the only way out of the present crisis. On Wednesday [10 October], the Presidency will discuss the concept of the federal and confederal contract and agree on the next steps. On 17 October, the SFRY Assembly will decide on the further "course of action." The current situation is certainly causing conflicts which could get out of ontrol.

Before these negotiations, Drnovsek said, all republics must first stand on their own. Only then will the talks be possible. Secession in this case, he said, would not be necessary, but is a possibility.

Answering the question whether the SFRY Presidency had discussed the introduction of emergency measures [vanredna mera], especially in view of what was happening in Croatia, Drnovsek said: Not directly. I think that the Yugoslav People's Army does not want emergency measures, although there are forces which would like to see them introduced. It would be good if everybody, especially Serbia, clearly said what they wanted. The demands for altering the republican borders are also dangerous. They cannot be altered without causing a civil war. He observed that Serbia is doing its best to push Slovenia out of Yugoslavia so that it can control things more easily in the way it had planned.

Drnovsek said that one can talk to Milosevic about anything except Albanians, whom he regards as separatists. The Serbian leadership, Drnovsek continued, has started a process of replacing the Kosovo representative to the SFRY Presidency and the new one will most certainly be a Serb. He again explained why he is not resigning from the Presidency: "I think that people in our republic should be calmer in observing events in other republics. Of course, this does not apply to the violation of human rights. We must recognize the fact that the others have the same rights, which means that we should not dispute the Serbian Constitution."

Croatia's Manolic Does Not Fear Military Coup

AU1710133690 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Report on interview with Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic by Friedrich Orter in Zagreb; date not given]

[Text] Despite warnings and rumors about a possible coup, the political leadership in Zagreb does not believe that the time has come for the generals in this tense situation. Prime Minister Manolic stressed in an interview with the ORF radio and television service that this danger has existed practically for the past 10 years, since Tito's death. Certain preconditions are required for a military coup, he stated. However, these preconditions do not exist, according to the Croatian Government, because the Yugoslav Army is homogeneous, because all peoples and ethnic groups of Yugoslavia are represented in the Army and particularly among the rank and file. The Army leadership is split. Only part of the leadership pursues Bolshevist goals. The democratic processes that are under way in Slovenia and Croatia would mobilize strong resistance against a planned military coup.

Referring to criticism that the Croatian Government is too weak and too cautious to solve the problem with the insurgent Serbs in the Dalmatian hinterland, the Croatian head of government stated that there are only two possibilities of how to come to terms with this problem: Bloodshed or political talks and negotiations. Croatia has 15,000 policemen, and it would be easy to send 10,000 of them to the Knin region, he pointed out. However, this is what Serbia is waiting for, and we do not want to do that, the Croatian head of government stated. We are trying to resolve the crisis politically with peaceful means, he stressed. We are following the old rule that reprisals should not be used unless all political means have been fully utilized. Fifty percent of the 15,000 policemen are Serbs, and the Croatian leadership cannot rely on them.

The political leadership in Zagreb believes that the clashes in the Knin area are not really the result of a conflict between Croats and Serbs, but that extremists controlled by Belgrade are fanning unrest there. The Croatian prime minister believes that Yugoslavia no longer exists. The problems that have arisen in Knin are only a reflection of the all-Yugoslav misery. The only ones who profit from this situation are the Serbs who show expansionist tendencies.

Heavy Infantry Arms Stolen From Train Near Knin

LD1710172190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] The report published in the Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA this morning that a considerable quantity of heavy infantry weapons destined for an army post office in Split were stolen at approximately 2100 two nights ago from a train in the Kosovo railway station near Knin is the subject of varied and sharp comment among the population in southern Croatia.

Although the results of an on-the-spot investigation carried out at about 1100 yesterday the investigating judge of the Sibenik district court, the deputy district public prosecutor, an investigating commission of the Sibenik Secretariat of Internal Affairs and of the Knin public security station and representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army are being kept secret, the details that have become public knowledge, according to the CROATIAN INFORMATION NEWS AGENCY, raise several questions and present certain conclusions. Why was only one train truck robbed, the only freight train truck stationary in the Kosovo railway station near Knin that was carrying heavy infantry weapons? Why—if there is chaos in rail transport in the Knin area because of the barricades and road mining—were the weapons for the army post office in Split transported by rail, and via Knin too? How did the robbers find out that weapons were in that very truck? How did the train security personnel react to the robbery? What was the conduct of the so-called local Knin militia, which does not recognize its superiors in the Sibenik Secretariat of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Croatian Republic? What are the representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army saying about this daring act and the seizure of their property for which the money had been provided by the citizens? There are some who would answer these questions by claiming, unofficially, of course, that this weapons theft episode is part and parcel of a scenario to destabilize Croatia, and there are even suspicions that some Yugoslav People's Army members are involved in it. However, the actual truth will be revealed after the official investigation has been completed.

Sources of Knin Weapons Held by Serbs Identified

LD1710172790 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] For the well informed, this news should not be a great surprise. What has happened is that during their stay in the Knin area last week, Croatian radio journalists learned that the weapons in possession of militant Serbian groups originate not only from the Secretariat of Internal Affairs but also from the Army. We heard then that there were indications that the weapons were not only expropriated guns and rifles, but much more complex system and more sophisticated arms.

Dvor na Uni Croats Seek Assembly Protection

LD1510223990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Oct 90

[Text] A group of Croats from several villages in the Dvor na Uni municipality today arrived, on their own initiative, in the Croat Assembly building to seek help, since, as they put it, there is no one back at home they can turn to.

The delegation was received by Bernardo Jurlina, vice president of the Croatian Government. He was told that the Croatian population in the Una River region was exposed to daily harrasment by armed members of the Serbian Democratic Party, who fired at Croat houses on several occasions. As stressed at the meeting, in the absence of any protection, the Croat population in the affected areas feared for their lives. Their demands for protection from the Dvor na Uni municipal authorities have remained unheeded. They call on the Croat Government to guarantee peaceful life and stress their readiness to coexist with the Serbs.

Examples were cited to illustrate the systematic persecution of the Croat population. For example, out of 350 employees in Autoprevoz [Autotransport] of Dvor na Uni, only two are Croats. The funds for undeveloped areas inevitably end up in private pockets.

Bernardo Jurlina singled the main problem as threats against the Croat population in the region, and promised to inform Croat Prime Minister Josip Manolic about the delegation's demands for a peaceful life.

Kosovars Protest Reporter's Arrest, Economic Ruin

AU1510212190 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 12 Oct 90 pp 4-5

[Emin Azemi and Blerim Reka report: "A Prelude to Serbian Acts of Destruction"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]**"Release Zenun"**

This phrase has become the motto of the many protests against the imprisonment of that most eminent of journalists, Zenun Celaj. One recent protest was held on the premises of the Kosovo Writers Association. A protest meeting, the third of its kind, was organized on Monday 9 October by the Kosovo Writers Association, the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, and the Kosovo Independent Journalists Association. More than 100 people attended and protested the totalitarian behavior of the Serbian authorities against Albanian journalists, and specifically Zenun Celaj's imprisonment. Ali Olloni chaired the meeting, and Nehat Islami, Ramiz Kelmendi, Professor Dr. Agim Vinca, Ragip Sylaj (who read poetry), and the miner Bajram Kajtazi also spoke. [passage omitted]

Against the Destruction of the Kosovo Economy

The destructive trends in the Kosovo economy continue. Albanian workers are increasingly showing themselves to be opposed to such measures which lead to economic ruin. Recently, 365 workers of the KBI [expansion unknown] in Pec sent an open letter to Ante Markovic, informing the prime minister that the behavior of the Serbian invader in Kosovo is increasingly destroying the economy. The Albanian workers therefore protested and demanded that this ruination of an economy they have created with their own labor and sweat must cease.

The Pec workers write among other things in their letter to Markovic. "We are aware that the Albanians in Yugoslavia have sent hundreds of petitions to you, reporting brutal violations of the Albanians' most elementary human rights, which are protected by international conventions that Yugoslavia has signed. You, Mr. President, and your government have still not raised your voice against these injustices."

Albanian workers at the Gnjilane "Quality" Flour Mill and Bakery have also recently expressed their opposition to the measures imposed by the Serbian Assembly. In their protest, these workers state that they do not support the temporary measures, but will nevertheless carry out all the duties covered by the regulations and policies of the enterprise in question. The Albanian workers of the Gnjilane "Quality" enterprise go on to state in their protest that none of them will leave their jobs of their own free will, but they will not accept violence. They therefore appeal to the workers of their sister enterprise Zitopromet and other enterprises in Kosovo to support them in their just demands, while they call on the SFRY Presidency and the federal government not to close their eyes to the destructive behavior of the Serbian state.

The recent decision of the imposed management of Kosovo Elektroekonomia to make emoluments of coal to Albanian workers conditional on their joining the so-called self-supporting (official) trade union of Serbia shows that there is no end to the absurdities in Kosovo. This decision smells of classic racism. The independent trade union of Elektroekonomia has responded, demanding that Albanians be given coal for heating like everybody else (Serbs, Montenegrins, and Romanies), without any conditions.

The draconian measures of Serbian policy are also putting at risk the work of private tradesmen in Kosovo. In recent days, there have been more cases of fines against private shops and of their closure for no reason at all. The situation is alarming in Urosevac, where more than 60 business premises were locked and barred during a single day. [passage omitted]

Slovenes Cut Power to Military Building 5 Oct

AU1810095090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Oct 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Wires Without Electricity"]

[Text] Ljubljana—The Command of the Ljubljana Corps issued a public protest because the Slovene power generating industry cut off electricity at the request of the city of Ljubljana on 5 October, after the well-known event concerning the defense of the building of the Republican Territorial Defense in the Prezihova Street in Ljubljana. The Command of the Ljubljana Corps takes the view that this contradicts all existing laws, as well as the agreement that has been reached. At the same time, the statement points out, the Ljubljana Post, Telegraph, and Telephone Company cut all lines to the building, including a special military telephone line. At the request of the Command the telephone line was restored yesterday, but, as pointed out, communications are still being disrupted.

This unconstitutional, uncivilized, and inhumane act is unjust to the members of the Yugoslav People's Army who work in this building and who, because of what had happened, are using an emergency generator, the statement adds. There is no doubt, the statement continues, that this act adversely affects the reputation of the Republic of Slovenia. This is why we are convinced, the statement of the Command of the Ljubljana Corps adds, that the Slovene public and the Slovene citizens' conscience, in which we never doubted, will demand from the appropriate organs an end to these inhumane measures and the performance of their duties in accordance with the law.

In its statement the Command stresses that some administrative organs of the Republic of Slovenia did not respond to the call of Janez Drnovsek, member of the SFRY Presidency, to behave in a civilized and dignified way toward members of the Yugoslav People's Army.